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THE LIVES AND TIMES OF THE POPES

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THOMAS B. COTTER, Ph.D.

CENSOR DEPUTATUS

Imprimatur

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leris opera et studio
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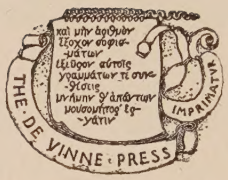
ces breuis elucidatio ex diuer-
sis autoribus collecta.
ROMÆ. M. D. L XXX.



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THE LIVES AND TIMES OF THE POPES

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BENEDICT XIV—A.D. 1740

BENEDICT XIV (Prospero Lambertini) was born at Bologna on the 31st of March, 1675, and was the son of Marcellos Lambertini, senator, of illustrious family, and of Lucrezia Bulgarini.

Prospero went to Rome in 1688, as a pupil in the Clementine College, on leaving which he applied himself to jurisprudence. Pope Clement XI frequently consulted him in difficult controversies, and at length made him consistorial advocate and promoter of the faith, and then domestic prelate. In 1712 he made him a canon of Saint Peter's. After obtaining many and various dignities, Prospero was named secretary of the Congregation of the Council. In 1722 Innocent XIII made him canonist to the penitentiary. Benedict XIII, in 1724, named him Archbishop of Theodosia in partibus, and on the 9th of December in that year created him cardinal, reserving him in petto until the 30th of April, 1728. Clement XII, in the consistory of the 30th of April, 1731, named him archbishop of his native Bologna; and Prospero,

after becoming pope, would not renounce that archbishopric until twelve years later.

After the death and funeral of Clement XII, the cardinals, to the number of thirty-two, entered into conclave with the intention of giving the tiara to Cardinal Ottoboni, dean of the Sacred College; but an opposition was raised on account of the cardinal being protector of France. Meanwhile Cardinal Ottoboni died, and other cardinals arriving, the conclave consisted of fifty-five, of whom forty-six were Italians. Two died, and two more were so ill as to be obliged to leave the conclave; the number was thus reduced to fifty-one, requiring thirty-four votes for an election. Thirty-one votes, including the French and Spaniards and Cardinal Corsini, supported Cardinal Aldovrandi during forty days. Twenty were for Lanfredini; these were headed by Cardinal Annibal Albani.

The author of the life of Benedict XIV says that all the factions within and without the conclave wanted to elect Aldovrandi, but were always three votes short. Lambertini, in mere pleasantry, said: "If you wish a saint, take Gotti; if you wish a politician, take Aldovrandi; if you wish a good man, take me." If this anecdote is true, it proves how far Lambertini was from desiring the dignity; for those who really desire it never joke.

During this canvass it was noticed that fifteen votes were constantly given to Cardinal Corradini. But he, being eighty-two years old, represented to the electors that he did not wish to be again named, on account of his advanced age.

Occasionally some of the ballots bore the name of Father Barberini, ex-general of the Capuchins, and apostolic preacher, notwithstanding his not being a cardinal.

The cardinals grew weary; the heat inconvenienced them in their cells, and they offered up prayers for a speedy elec-

tion. At length the minds of most centred so completely on Lambertini, who previously had not been spoken of, that when his old friend Cardinal Aquaviva, then minister from Spain, pronounced his name, he was on the instant unanimously elected. On the 16th of August, Lambertini had not a vote; on the 17th he obtained all but his own, which he gave to Cardinal Aldovrandi.

When Lambertini was formally asked whether he would accept the pontificate, he replied: "I accept for three reasons—the first is, that I am unwilling to disdain your kindness; the second, because I will not resist the will of God, which I know this to be, because I have never desired so high a dignity; the third is my desire to put an end to our conclave, which has already lasted so long as to cause general scandal."

Lambertini on the instant was invested with the pontifical habit.

In memory of the pontiff Benedict XIII, who had given him the purple, and to show his gratitude to the Orsini family, he took the name of Benedict XIV. On the 22d of August he was solemnly crowned in the Vatican Basilica by Cardinal Marini, first deacon. On the following day he went to reside in the palace of Monte Cavallo. On the 30th of August, 1740, he took possession of Saint John Lateran, and gave the benediction from the summit of the new façade built by Clement XII. It had previously been given from the façade of the other lateral portion.

In the first consistory of this pontificate, held on the 29th of August, for the purpose of thanking the cardinals, Benedict granted the legation of Bologna to Cardinal Alberoni, and showed his clemency to Cardinal Coscia by absolving him from the censures under which he labored, and restoring him to the liberty of which he had again been deprived at the

close of the conclave. Clement XII, when dying, had ordered that Coscia should be released from prison, so as to take his position in the conclave, but confined again as soon as the conclave should close. That was showing great respect for the rights of the cardinalate, and no less respect for a sentence which had been justly pronounced.

Benedict lost none of his old kindliness and well-known courtesy. He proved to every one that it would be difficult to equal him in sentiments of liberality; but his family were deprived of it forever. The Portuguese Jesuit, Manuel Azevedo, admired that fortitude and strictness of Benedict towards his family, and his generous affection to all others, whom he treated as though they were his own. Benedict had a nephew, Egano Lambertini, a senator of Bologna, to whom he wrote: "You will not come to Rome till summoned"; but though the pope had an excellent memory, he never, during his long reign, thought of inviting his nephew. He, however, permitted John, Egano's eldest son, a boy only nine years old, to study in the Clementine College.

The vacancy of the Holy See having lasted past the eve of Saint Peter, the Neapolitan tribute could not be presented at the proper time, but on the 8th of September, Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, Benedict, with the usual solemn escort, repaired to the Church of Saint Mary del Popolo, and received from the constable Colonna the accustomed tribute. After sending the golden rose to the Queen of Naples, Benedict informed the Sacred College of the death of the Emperor Charles VI, and, after the example of many of his predecessors, published a universal jubilee to ask from the divine goodness a prosperous and salutary pontificate. He at the same time declared that all who wished to obtain the blessings of the jubilee should yield both interior and exterior obedience to the bull Unigenitus.

Benedict at once turned his attention to the due administration of the Church, without neglecting the political advantage of his States. He found that excessive outlays had exhausted the treasury. He instantly reduced the expenses of his palace and table, as well as the allowances granted to the pontiff, surrendering to the apostolic chamber certain dues which had entered the private treasury of his predecessors. At his accession the chamber owed two hundred thousand crowns; in a short time it had that amount in hand, after payment of every debt. The reforms were especially in military expenses, a private soldier in the pontifical force receiving more than an officer in France or Germany.

When there was a surplus in the treasury, Benedict awarded a portion of it to reduced noble families. At the same time he reformed the luxury of the more wealthy nobles. The pope, himself so learned, and aware of the value of knowledge, exhorted the Roman prelates to strengthen themselves still more by study. He declared that he would give employments only to those who should distinguish themselves by consummate ability, zeal, and good morals. In the whole of the Pontifical States, Benedict was the best judge of such matters, and Benedict was now master there.

To that end he established four academies—at the Capitol, the academy of Roman history and profane antiquity; in the house of the priests of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri, the academy of sacred history and ecclesiastical learning; in the college of the Propaganda, the history of the councils; and at Our Lady de' Monti, the academy of liturgy.

On Monday in each week the Holy Father, unless unavoidably prevented, presided, in the Quirinal Palace, over each of those academies in its turn; while one of the academicians pronounced a discourse on the respective subjects. In the

entire world it is only at Rome that the sovereign gives such an example.

It is to be regretted that these discourses, pronounced by men selected for their learning, and in presence of a learned pope, were not collected and published. Still, twenty-two, by Gaetan Cenni, were published at Pistoja in 1778–79, in two quarto volumes. Ten of them are upon ecclesiastical and twelve upon Roman history.

We may repeat what John the Deacon said of Saint Gregory the Great, that the science of things had erected a temple at Rome for all to visit, and that the portico of the Holy See appeared to be supported by seven arts, as by seven noble columns. The study of the various sciences there reflourished; and Latinity, clad in the purple, found all Latium again in the real palace of the Latin tongue.

On the 23d of September the pope authorized the abbreviators of the major park—that is to say, the twelve prelates forming the tribunals of the chancery—even after quitting office, to wear a violet cord in the hat.

These abbreviators abridge the rescripts of the popes upon memorials to which favors are granted. Those officials are divided into abbreviators of the major park and abbreviators of the minor park, because the site of the office in which they assemble is called Parco. The prelates of the major park form a tribunal. They decide upon doubts which arise upon the formulas and the clauses of bulls, upon the decrees and emoluments; the prelates of the minor park draw up the bulls, which they submit to the prelates of the major park for examination before they go to the copyists.

In the first of these colleges seven of the senior members receive a more considerable stipend. They enjoy the same privileges as the referendaries of both signatures, and they had their portion of the bread and wine which are distributed

to those employed in the palace of the pope. In fact, they enjoyed many privileges now suppressed.

By a motu proprio of the 24th of November, the Holy Father confirmed the decrees of Innocent XIII, of the 23d of January, 1722, and of Clement XII, of the 20th of July, 1733, by which all regulars except the Fate bene Fratelli were forbidden to practise pharmacy beyond their respective orders, to sell or to give medicines to laymen, except treacle and apoplectic balsam, which they were freely permitted to sell or give.

The Holy Father soon afterwards sent Monsignor Merlini to Turin as apostolic nuncio to deliver to the sovereign a brief which established the nuncio as vicar of the fiefs which the Holy See possessed in the States of Piedmont and Montferrato, as had been agreed with Clement XII. The prince was to recognize those fiefs as dependents of the Apostolic See, and to pay to the pontifical chamber an annual tribute of two thousand crowns. The King of Sardinia, by virtue of this decree, solemnly made the oath in the presence of the nuncio, and sent to the pope, for the first time, a golden chalice, with the promise to do the same annually, in acknowledgment of the right due to the legitimate possessor of those fiefs, which was regularly performed until the armies of the French Revolution invaded Piedmont.

On the 20th of October, 1740, Charles VI had died. Benedict learned that Maria Teresa, daughter of that prince, and Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, heiress of the house of Austria, had, by a new formula of promise, required from the deputies from the duchy of Parma and Piacenza the oath of fidelity to her as duchess of those two States; but they, in fact, were fiefs of the Holy See. The pope stated the case to the cardinals in a consistory, and declared that he would never cease to maintain the rights in

the patrimony of the Church which had been intrusted to him, and that in that he would follow the example of his predecessors, who had been the firm defenders of those undoubted rights of the Holy See.

On the 3d of November, 1741, Benedict gave the bull Dei miseratione, to maintain the validity of marriages. In some Christian countries abuses had crept in upon that subject; judges had dissolved marriages without having ascertained the propriety of that measure by sufficient preliminary inquiry. The pope strongly opposed the abuse, and reminded the judges, "Whom God hath joined, let no man put asunder." He ordered the appointment, in each diocese, of a defender of marriage, who should labor for the indissolubility of the marital contract and be present at all proceedings upon that subject. The Parliament of Paris and the official of Soissons, however, did not conform to the decision of a pope who, to his authority as sovereign pontiff, added such profound acquaintance with canon law and theology.

A council assembled on Mount Lebanon. It was composed of the patriarch, fourteen archbishops and bishops, two abbots, many missionaries of various orders, and some princes and magnates, who had obtained the honor of being allowed to support, by their influence, the decisions of that august assembly. Many useful decrees were adopted which Benedict approved.

By virtue of a direct bull of the 11th of July, 1742, Benedict confirmed the constitution of Clement XI upon the rites in China. Benedict gave an account, even to the minutest details, of the whole controversy, and then annulled and condemned eight concessions made by Mezzabarba, Patriarch of Alexandria and apostolical commissioner in the vast empire of China. By the same bull an oath was prescribed to be taken by all engaged in those missions.

Previous to reaching the highest dignities Benedict XIV had held the post of consistorial advocate. By a bull he definitively organized that college, which consisted of twelve subjects. The pope recognized their right to propose to the pontiff three advocates whenever a vacancy in the college should occur. These superior officials, he urged, are the true familiars of the pope. It is by them that consistorial causes are treated. In the causes of beatifications and canonizations they write in jure, and support them verbally before the consistory. They have also the right to propose instances in the solemnities of the canonizations, and to solicit the pallium for the archbishops and other dignitaries entitled to it. They govern the University of Rome, with the title of rectors; enjoy the privilege of receiving doctors in either law, in consequence of a decision upon a question which was mooted between them and the apostolical prothonotaries. To that college belong, in perpetuity, the offices of Promoter of the Faith, Advocate of the Poor, Advocate of the Fisc, Advocate of the Apostolical Chamber, Advocate of the Building of Saint Peter's, Advocate of the Roman Senate and People, and Commissioner of the Conclave while the Holy See is vacant. They can fix statutes and discharge the officers of the college. In the collegiate acts the dean takes precedence of all his colleagues, even though they personally enjoy a higher dignity than he. The advocates of the fisc, the apostolic chamber, and the poor can never defend any other cause.

The first promotion made by Benedict XIV took place on the 9th of September, 1743, and included, among others: (1) Joachim Ferdinand Portocarrero, a noble Spaniard of the family of the marquises of Almanaro, born at Madrid, April 2, 1681; protector of Spain in 1749, Bishop of Sabina in 1759. He died at Rome on the 22d of June, 1760, aged eighty.

(2) Camillus Paolucci, born at Forli on the 9th of December, 1692, of a noble family, secretary of state to Clement XI. Died at Rome in 1763.

(3) Charles Albert Guidobono Cavalchini, canonist of the penitentiary. Died dean of the Sacred College on the 7th of March, 1774.

(4) James Oddi, born on the 11th of November, 1679; nuncio of Lisbon, and Bishop of Viterbo. He founded a house there for the reception of the ordinaries and other priests who then performed the exercises of Saint Ignatius. He died at Perugia on the 2d of May, 1770.

(5) Frederic Marcellus Lante della Rovera, born April 18, 1695; nuncio extraordinary to Paris in 1730. Died at Rome in 1773.

(6) Marcellus Crescenzi, born at Rome, October 20, 1674; nuncio in France, and Bishop of Ferrara. He died August 24, 1768.

(7) Joseph Pozzobonelli, a noble Milanese, born August 11, 1696; Archbishop of Milan. He died in that city in 1783.

(8) Orsini d'Aragon, a noble Roman, nineteenth Duke of Gravina, born at Naples, June 5, 1719; ambassador protector of the Two Sicilies at Rome. Died at Rome on the 19th of January, 1789.

On making this promotion, Benedict gave, as was the custom, the details of the distinguishing qualities which determined his choice of each of the promoted. At the close of the allocution, remark was made upon the extraordinary mention made of Monsignor Lazarus Pallavicini, Archbishop of Thebes in partibus, who had constantly deserved and had as constantly declined the purple, which had been offered to him in reward of his services as administrator-general (commander) of the hospital of the Holy Ghost. Benedict knew how to praise at once the qualities

which indicated the duty of accepting and those which had dictated the refusal.

A year earlier, Benedict had prepared a decree, which he afterwards published, against several works of the modern philosophy. These works were: Letters on the Religion Essential to Man, Distinguished from that which is only Accessory; the Cabalistic Letters; the Chinese Letters; and the Jewish Letters. The first of those works was from the pen of Mary Huber, of Geneva, a Protestant, who died at Lyons on the 13th of June, 1753. The Cabalistic Letters, the Chinese Letters, and the Jewish Letters were written by the Marquis d'Argens.

All the decrees issued by Benedict XIV were founded upon his own personal observations. He read over and over the works that were to be judged; and then, placed in a separate part of the private library, they for some time awaited a third examination. They thus underwent three judgments.

On the 28th of December, 1743, the pope was informed of a decree made by Philip V, concerning the missions of Paraguay. It is known that those establishments were formed by the Jesuits; and known, too, are the zeal and the hereditary wisdom with which they had civilized the Indians. No reading man can be unaware of the obstacles those courageous soldiers of Christ encountered in their labors. At length Rome blessed the religious who carried their generous persistence so far as to brave the most cruel martyrdoms.

Those hardships, zeal, and the continual offer of their blood did not, however, prevent that great enterprise from being painted in the most unfavorable colors. Some enemies of the society accused it of ambition and avarice. In vain did just and upright men justify alike its intentions and its conduct. There is a letter extant, written on the 20th of March, 1721, to the King of Spain by Faxardo, Bishop of

Buenos Ayres. That prelate, who had made a visit of general inspection to the reductions (the name given to the various missions in those countries), acquits the Jesuits of the charges brought against them. His successor, Joseph Peralto, a Dominican, was no less favorable, and in that spirit he wrote to his court. To these testimonies there was added yet another. Philip V was a reflecting prince, and he loved the Spaniards; he would not on slight grounds condemn any of his subjects; he always desired to know the truth; in fact, that prince, who was not as fortunate as he deserved to be, possessed a precious quality—he inquired into the conduct of the accuser as well as into that of the accused.

Philip sent a commissioner to observe on the spot what was really going on, and it was upon his report, founded on the closest observations, that Philip, on the 28th of December, 1743, issued a long decree by which he specified in detail all the accusations brought against the Jesuits. He no less particularly specified the heads of their defence; and he closed by ordering that everything with respect to the Jesuits should remain on the same footing as before, and that they should be left in control of those establishments which their society had created.

It may be said, at the same time, that that decree was more in favor of the Indians than of the Society of Jesus. There were thirty reductions, or subdivisions of the country, peopled by about thirty thousand Indians subject to tribute, besides all those Indians who were exempt from tribute. The Jesuits maintained order and promoted piety among their converts; and the value of their labors was afterwards felt when the viceroys endeavored to introduce different systems of administration.

The decree of Philip V only a few years preceded his

death, which occurred on the 3d of July, 1746, in the sixty-third year of his age.

With a pope like Benedict XIV, whose vast erudition enabled him to decide properly upon all questions, and who especially kept careful watch upon proceedings in distant countries, that he might encourage and aid that great work of civilization which is the cherished duty of the Roman pontiffs, requests for advice reached Rome from all parts of the world. Many pious, sincere, and courageous spirits solicited a measure directed against the Malabar rites. Cardinal de Tournon had proscribed them in his pastoral of the 23d of June, 1704, but it had met with much opposition. The mission of India, like that of China, had had its trials and its crosses, and peace was disturbed there also by disputes upon peculiar rites. The Archbishop of Goa and the Bishop of Saint Thomé resisted the decree. The superior Council of Pondicherry declared it abusive, and the Jesuits disregarded it.

The Holy See had repeatedly to confirm the legate's pastoral. At Pondicherry, long altercations ensued between the Capuchins and the Jesuits. Each party obtained attestations from Hindu Brahmins, who certified, some that the disputed rites were purely civil, and others that they were religious. Visdelon, Bishop of Claudiopolis, who for a long time resided at Pondicherry, declared against the rites, although he was a Jesuit, and, consequently, was charged with various missions by the Propaganda.

On the 12th of December, 1727, Benedict XIII, in a brief to the bishops and missionaries of the Indian peninsula, confirmed the decrees of his predecessors, and especially that of Cardinal de Tournon.

A new brief of Clement XII, of the 13th of May, 1739, contained a formula of the oath by which the missionaries prom-

ised to execute the decree of 1704. It was urged that these various measures did not put a stop to the disobedience, and it was to remove all these pretexts that Benedict XIV—who, even when only a promoter of the faith as consistorial advocate, had very zealously urged the execution of the apostolical decrees—issued the bull Omnium solicitudinum, in which, as in that on the Chinese rites, he summed up all that had taken place. He solved all doubts, explained and confirmed the modifications granted by Clement XII, and omitted nothing which might tend to terminate the differences that had arisen about those Malabar rites. Meantime there still remained some of the old leaven of discord between the other missionaries and the Jesuits, the former reproaching the latter with not fully and frankly observing the bull. These disputes lasted till the dissolution of the Society of Jesus. Then the mission to Malabar was intrusted to the Bishop of Trabaca and to the missionaries of the seminary of Paris. At this time the Holy See was again consulted upon the rites. The reply was that whatever seemed tolerable of what had usually been practised might, at least for the time, be allowed.

On the 15th of September, 1744, came to Rome the sad tidings of the martyrdom of Father Castañarez, a Spanish Jesuit and missionary to Paraguay. He was put to death by a cacique who had invited him to the country to give instruction in the Christian religion. The Father is spoken of as one of the most intrepid preachers in that country. A pious Spaniard named Francis Atocha, his companion, perished with him.

On the 22d of May, 1745, a decree was issued at Rome against Mandeville's Fable of the Bees (London, 1714). Mandeville made a very poor defence in saying that his book was a mere jeu d'esprit. His publishers also affirmed that

the book was ironical and intended to turn vice into ridicule. And, accordingly, though Mandeville, in a second edition, in 1723, tried to give a less unfavorable turn to his system, sensible and truth-loving men readily perceived its consequences.

The grand jury of Middlesex denounced the book to the court of King's Bench, together with several other books, nearly like it, which had been published in England. It was translated into French about the year 1740, and it was in that translation sent to Rome.

Chubb, another English writer, at first an Arian and then a deist, distinguished himself in both characters. He combated, in succession, Revelation, the inspiration of the holy books, and the eternity of punishments, and published several works, the boldest of which is his Farewell to his Readers, in which he throws doubts upon the truth of a future life, and travesties the doctrine of Christ.

Another Englishman, named Morgan, who also was a physician, obtained notoriety by his book entitled "Moral Philosophy." In it he entirely rejected the Old Testament, and spoke of Catholics as "Christian Jews, having only a Historical Faith and a Mechanical and Political Religion."

On the 6th of July, 1745, a report was made to the assembly of the clergy upon a book entitled "The Legitimate Power of the First and of the Second Order of the Clergy," by Travers. It maintained that there should be the most entire equality between the clergy and the bishops, and went so far as to claim the association of the former in all the functions of the episcopacy, not excepting even that of ordination. The faculty of Nantes gave, in 1746, a detailed censure. Of the ninety-nine propositions censured, twenty-seven were condemned as heretical. Travers died in 1750.

France, rejoiced by her victory at Fontenoy, sustained the pretensions of the Stuarts to the throne of England.

Charles Edward, son of James, made an effort to regain his rights. In 1745, deeming that the war between France and Great Britain presented a favorable opportunity, he entered Scotland, and soon found himself at the head of a small army. The French auxiliaries who accompanied Charles Edward were not sufficiently numerous. The English government set a price of thirty thousand pounds sterling upon the head of the young prince. Charles, faithful to the Catholic doctrines, displayed more generosity, and by a manifesto prohibited any attempt upon the life of George. That eloquent language needed the support of at least apparent victory, for we cannot give life to the enemy who is not yet prostrate before us. Charles Edward, having defeated General Cope at Prestonpans, marched into England as far as Derby, and everything seemed to promise him complete success, when the Scotch chiefs suddenly lost heart and determined to retreat.

The English forces, under the Duke of Cumberland, pursued, and the war continued with fury. On the one hand, Charles Edward gained the battle of Falkirk; on the other, on the 16th of April, 1746, the English, under the command of the Duke of Cumberland, won the victory of Culloden, and crushed the Jacobite party by a series of executions which obtained for him the surname of "the butcher." Charles Edward for a long time wandered from place to place. But nothing could shake the fidelity of the Highlanders to the unfortunate man.

At this period occurred a correspondence between Voltaire and Benedict XIV, which we insert more as a literary curiosity than for any general importance in the history of the popes. Among other works, Voltaire composed the

tragedy of Mahomet, and sent a copy to the pope, with the following respectful letter:

"Most Holy Father:

"Your Holiness, I venture to believe, will pardon the liberty taken by one of the humblest, but also one of the warmest, admirers of the virtues of Your Holiness, to consecrate to the head of the true religion a piece written against the founder of a false and barbarous sect. To whom can I more fittingly address a satire upon the cruelty and errors of a false prophet than to the vicar and the imitator of a God of truth and mercy? Permit, then, Your Holiness, to lay both the book and its author at your feet, and to venture to ask your protection for the one and your benediction for the other. It is with those sentiments of a profound veneration that I prostrate myself and that I kiss your sacred feet.

"Arouet de Voltaire.

"Paris, 17th August, 1745."

The pope replied as follows:

"Benedict XIV, Pope, to his dear son, Arouet de Voltaire, health and apostolic benediction:

"Dear Sir: A few weeks since there was presented to us, from you, your very fine tragedy of Mahomet, which we have read with great pleasure. Cardinal Passionei subsequently presented to us, also in your name, your very excellent poem Fontenoy; and still more recently Monsignor Leprotti laid before us the distich composed by you, to be placed beneath our portrait.

"Yesterday morning Cardinal Valenti presented us your letter of the 17th of August.

"Each of these acts deserves our thanks: we thank you for them together, and acknowledge your singular affection towards us. Doubt not of the esteem we feel for your much and deservedly applauded merits.

"Since your distich was published in Rome, we learn that a French scholar remarked, in a public conversation, that there was a fault in it—that you had made the word hic short instead of long. We replied that the scholar was himself in error, and that hic may be, at option, either long or short. Virgil makes it short in the verse,

"' Solus hĭc reflexit sensus animumque labentem ';

And long in this one:

"' Hæc finis Priami fatorum, hīc exitus illum.'

"Our answer was, we think, apt enough for one who has not read Virgil for fifty years. Although you are the interested party in the dispute, we have so high an opinion of your frankness that we do not hesitate to make you the arbiter between ourselves and the critic. It only remains for us, dear son, to send you our apostolic benediction.

"Given at Rome, at Saint Mary Major, this 19th of September, in the year 1745, and of our pontificate the sixth.

"Benedict XIV, PP."

Voltaire replied in the following letter of thanks:

"Most Holy Father:

"The features of Your Holiness are not better expressed in the medals with which your great kindness has favored me, than those of your heart and mind in the letter with

which you have deigned to honor me. I lay at Your Holiness' feet my most fervent and humble thanks. I am truly obliged to confess your infallibility in the decisions of literature, as in other and far more important matters. Your Holiness is far superior in Latinity to that critic whose error you have deigned to correct, and I confess my surprise that Your Holiness can so readily cite the verses of Virgil. Among the princely amateurs of letters the sovereign pontiffs have always been distinguished; but I believe that none of them has equalled Your Holiness in the union of the severest and the most elegant learning. Agnosco rerum dominos, gentemque togatam.

"If the French scholar who so unjustly accused my hic had known his Virgil as thoroughly as Your Holiness does, he would have quoted a verse in which hic is both long and short:

"' Hīc vir hĭc est, tibi quem promitti sæpius audis.'

Rome must have re-echoed this verse when Benedict XIV ascended the throne. With feelings of the most profound veneration and the most fervent gratitude, I kiss your sacred feet.

"Arouet de Voltaire."

At the commencement of the year 1746, by the constitution Urbem Romam, the Holy Father prescribed the order and the number of the noble Roman families to be entered upon the registers of the senate at the Capitol, and he established a method to be followed in future. Among these noble families he rightly included all those of Roman pontiffs.

From time to time disturbances broke out in Syria in regard to the cultus of Saint Maro. Cyril, the Greek patriarch, determined upon the suppression of this devotion, and

proceeded to destroy the engravings of Saint Maro published at Rome, forbidding him to be counted among the saints, on the ground that he had both lived and died a heretic.

The ignorant patriarch was unaware that Theodoret, in the lives of the Fathers, and Saint John Chrysostom, in his thirty-sixth epistle, both of them contemporaries of Saint Maro, recognized him as a saint; that his cultus had continued for centuries, even at Rome; and in the church of the Maronites, that the missals of the same people, approved by Clement VIII, and the testimonies of innumerable writers, given before that learned pontiff, openly spoke of Maro under the title of saint. The inconsiderate patriarch confounded him with a second Maro, or Marone, a heretical abbot who lived in the time of the Emperor Mauritius, in 602, whereas Saint Maro lived in the year 395, under the Emperor Arcadius. Due distinction must be made between the two, even as we distinguish between the two Raymond Lullys—the one a heretic and the other venerated as a martyr; two John Canzis—the one a heretic and the other canonized by Clement XIII; and two bishops of Ypres—Cornelius Jansen, Bishop of Ypres, a heretic in his writings, and the other, Bishop of Ghent, and deserving well of the Church for his piety and his virtues.

Leonard Chizzola, archdeacon of Brescia, a very aged man, having suddenly left that cathedral, went to Bologna, where he became a Jesuit, without announcing his intention to Cardinal Quirini, his bishop. The cardinal lost in that archdeacon a noble ornament of the Church, and a man very serviceable to the poor; and he solicited Benedict to decree that thenceforth no priest, without the knowledge and consent of his ordinary, could enter the regular orders. Benedict, with his usual erudition, replied, as Saint Gregory the

Great had replied to Desiderius, Bishop of Vienne, in France, when Pancratius, deacon of that diocese, had embraced the monastic life—namely, that the bishop should excite the zeal of Pancratius, that he might not cool in the fervor of his desire. Not content with this reply, Benedict urged yet other reasons to appease the cardinal. He endeavored to convince him that an apostolic constitution would be useless in such cases; and he concluded thus: "Out of any hundred archdeacons, scarcely one will abandon the high position he enjoys for the sake of entering an order, while scarcely one in a hundred religious would hesitate to abandon his order to become an archdeacon."

Benedict had ordered some benevolent works at Civita Vecchia, and determined to see, in person, how they were executed. First, he went to serve food and medicaments to the patients in the hospital of the Fate bene Fratelli; and then he gave a crown to each of the patients. He next ordered that he should be shown the hospital of the sick convicts, where he did the same. It does not appear that this last spectacle of a pontiff visiting and relieving the most depraved of offenders had ever before been witnessed in Christendom.

The pope considered that a Corsican guard might be re-established to suppress smuggling; and he took precautions against any abuse ensuing from the return of that force, who usually did their duty with a zeal and courage the pope loved often to reward.

Benedict was much concerned at the situation of the Catholics of Prussia. Learning that the king had permitted them to erect a church in Berlin and had laid the corner-stone, that he had funds for continuing the enterprise, and that he had solemnly promised that that temple should never be granted excepting to the faithful of the Roman Church, the pope, by

an allocution of the 20th of November, called upon the cardinals to imitate so good a work, and himself appropriated a very considerable sum towards the completion of the church.

On the 17th of July, 1746, Benedict learned by communications from his nuncio, Monsignor Durini, Archbishop of Rhodes, and from De la Rochefoucauld, Archbishop of Bourges, ambassador from France to Rome, that the Parliament of Paris, at that time attentive to the wishes of the Holy See, had prosecuted two impious works, The Natural History of the Soul and Philosophical Thoughts.

The Natural History of the Soul was written by La Mettrie, a physician, who professed the plainest and most unmitigated materialism. The sentence of the Parliament caused the author to fly from France. He first went to Holland, where his book was burned as it had been in France, and then he went to Prussia.

He published, at Berlin, a complete edition of his irreligious works, which edition was condemned by Clement XIV, on the 1st of March, 1770. He died at Berlin.

The second work condemned to the flames was Pensées Philosophiques, attributed at the time to Voltaire, but written by Diderot. Ardent and impetuous, Diderot was the most active in the warfare carried on against Christianity.

Benedict XIV made his second promotion on the 10th of April, 1747.

It included, among others: (1) John Francis Albani, a nobleman of Urbino, born at Rome on the 26th of February, 1720; died at Rome, as the dean of the Sacred College, on the 15th of September, 1803.

(2) Charles Victor Amadeus delle Lanze, a Piedmontese, of the family of the counts of Sales. He was born at Turin on the 1st of September, 1712, was for six months a regular

canon of Sainte Geneviève at Paris, almoner to Emmanuel III, and created cardinal at the request of that prince. He died in 1784.

On the 3d of July, in the same year, Benedict made his third promotion. It consisted only of Henry Benedict Mary Clement, Duke of York, second son of James III, "King of England." He was born at Rome on the 6th of March, 1725, and died at Frascati, dean of the Sacred College, on the 13th of July, 1807.

Previous to announcing to the English prince his elevation to the cardinalate, Benedict said to him: "Prince, your dignity, our right, and ancient custom, especially in regard to sovereign families, would have justified us two years since in making you a cardinal of the Roman Church. But we have always considered that after your father James III, and your brother who will be James IV, you will have undoubted right to the English throne, and that therefore it was not necessary, determined though you were to take holy orders, so publicly and so completely to cut yourself off from the world and the English throne. Take even yet a few days of reflection. We know that your family leaves you free to choose, and that you desire to enter the Sacred College only from a firmness peculiar to yourself. Nevertheless, consider well; we should not like that either ourself or you should hereafter be accused of a precipitation which, through other ordinances of Heaven, might place us both in an embarrassing position. Consider well, and if, on the 30th of June, you are still of the same mind, we, three days later, will announce your appointment."

The Duke of York kissed the pope's hand and replied: "There is nothing in this world that I so much desire as to enter the Sacred College; and once there, I should never regret my lost chance of royalty." Benedict replied: "Well, we

shall create you only cardinal-deacon, so that you will still have time to consider whether you absolutely will take holy orders. We shall do nothing that may be contrary to the will of God, which is unknown to us. If hereafter, when you are cardinal-deacon, circumstances should make it advisable, you can resign the hat, marry, and thus avoid destroying the hopes of Ireland, that firm friend of the Stuarts, and of that portion of Scotland which has remained pious and faithful."

On the 8th of June, 1748, the pope confirmed the privileges of the military order of Saint Stephen in Tuscany, of which the Emperor Francis I, husband of Maria Teresa, had been made grand master. To those privileges Benedict added another, authorizing the knights to appear before the sovereign pontiff girt with their swords. It was the custom that, with the exception of princes, members of the diplomatic corps, and knights of the order of Charles III, all persons presented to the pope should leave their swords in the antechamber.

The college of the Sapienza was also to receive new favors from Benedict. He founded in that university two new chairs, one of mathematics and one of chemistry.

The further reduction of holidays of obligation led to discussions which now excited the attention of Benedict. In a special dissertation he examined methods of abolishing these various feasts of obligation. Their multiplicity did not excite less fervent Christians to the necessary sanctification of these holidays, as ordered by the cardinal, while they prevented the poor from working and thus providing for their temporal needs.

The Fathers of the Council of Tarragona had pointed out those inconveniences to Benedict XIII, in 1727. The King of the Two Sicilies had also expressed a desire for a reduction of holidays, which the Bishop of Bamberg and other

prelates also solicited. Benedict XIV then obtained the written opinion of forty learned men. Of these, thirty-three declared the reduction of holidays useful, fifteen of the thirty-three advising His Holiness to publish a general bull for the whole Church; while eighteen were of opinion that the Holy Father should await petitions from the respective dioceses, and decide according to the necessity of the case, and the reasons adduced by the supplicants.

Benedict praised the piety of the seven opposing doctors, but approved the substance of the opinion of the thirty-three. As to the question of a general or a special bull, he agreed with the opinion of the eighteen approvers, who, however, considered that an indult, giving permission to work on certain holidays, should be granted only as asked for in the dioceses. The indult specified the days which were not included in the concession. In no case was the hearing of Mass to be dispensed with.

Thus, from the year 1742 to the year 1748, the Holy Father granted that indult for a very great number of cities in Spain, Poland, Germany, Sicily, in the Ecclesiastical States, in Tuscany, and in the county of Nice.

At that time a discussion arose between Cardinal Quirini and the historian Muratori, concerning the diminution or the preservation of holidays. Muratori, under the signature of Lamindo Pritanio, had published, at Lucca, a book in which he advocated the reduction of holidays, and which was answered by Cardinal Quirini.

The Holy Father, by a constitution of the 14th of November, forbade any one, under penalty of excommunication reserved to the sovereign pontiff, thereafter to print anything for or against the holidays of obligation already prescribed by Urban VIII, and thus closed the controversy.

Saint Pius V, to reward the eminent services of Sebastian,

King of Portugal, had allowed him to choose, at his own pleasure, any title that should be an indication of the glorious actions of that prince, assuring him that the Holy See would instantly ratify that title. The generous prince replied that he prided himself solely upon constantly showing that he was the most obedient son of the sovereign pontiff. Benedict, still further recognizing the honorable merits of the King of Portugal, without notice to King John or awaiting his consent, conferred upon him, by a bull dated on the 23d of December, 1748, the title of Most Faithful, which was to be inherited with the crown by his successors. Then, having assembled a consistory, the pope communicated to him his determination in an allocution replete with eloquence, in which he specified the great sacrifices that had been made by the kings of Portugal; and at the same time he sent to John a copy of the edition of the Roman Martyrology, which the pope had just, with prodigious research and erudition, issued to the world.

At the commencement of the year 1749, Benedict prepared notifications for the great jubilee of 1750.

On the 19th of February the pope recommended to the bishops in his States a becoming care of their churches, and the duty of having them thoroughly cleansed; and he at the same time forbade such music as by its levity and elegance was fitted only for the theatre. Benedict authorized only grave harmonies, calculated to dispose to devotion.

Like his predecessors, Benedict reminded those whom he addressed that the churches by their order and purity should proclaim the holy year, and he urged the cardinals to repair and adorn their churches and those under their protection. He set the example in restoring so many places of prayer, which made Rome the finest Catholic city in the world.

In the Basilica of Saint Paul without the walls, the pope

caused the repair of the mosaics and the paintings. He continued the chronological series of the sovereign pontiffs down to his own time, and the series was exposed to the view of the public on the 9th of December in that year. To secure the fitting exactitude to the representation of that series of the popes, he intrusted it to the superintendence of two learned prelates, Furietti and Costanzi, under the general supervision of Canon Marangoni, who published the series in a fine work, and of Capeci, abbot of that monastery. The execution of the painting was intrusted to the painter Minosili.

One hundred and forty-five thousand pilgrims were received at the hospital of the Trinity between December, 1749, and July, 1750.

Shortly afterwards, Benedict had to deplore a cruel persecution against the Catholics of China. The aged Bishop de Moncastro, who for thirty years had been at the head of that mission, was condemned to be beheaded, and four Dominicans and two Jesuits were quartered. The most rigorous of the ancient Chinese edicts were renewed. The numerous missionaries who were at Peking only escaped death owing to the earnest entreaties of some Jesuits whom the emperor's ministers had thus far regarded with favor. Those ministers represented to their master that the Jesuits who implored mercy for their brethren were skilled in astronomy, painting, architecture, and even in the art of fortification. The emperor, reminded of so many services, which he knew and had received, allowed his anger to be appeased. Let us ever do full justice to those bold missionaries who braved death with so much courage. It was only from other orders that Christendom learned the services which they had rendered to their brethren and to Catholicism.

On the 6th of July, 1751, Benedict XIV suppressed the

patriarchate of Aquileia and erected two new sees. The patriarchate of Aquileia had long been a subject of dispute between Austria and Venice. It was agreed between those two courts and Rome that Cardinal Delfini, Patriarch of Aquileia, should retain for life the patriarchal title and prerogatives. Neither the bull nor the allocution mentioned the consent of the Cardinal Delfini to the extinction of his see. Benedict XIV supported his action in his bull only upon "the plenitude of his apostolic power, in virtue whereof he can, when lawful causes require it, erect, transfer, suppress, and extinguish patriarchal, archiepiscopal, and episcopal churches, and separate and divide their dioceses, as he shall deem useful in the Lord."

On the 13th of November, 1751, Benedict pronounced the beatification of Blessed Jane Frances Fremyot de Chantal, who was canonized in 1767, by Clement XIII.

On the 11th of January, 1753, a concordat was signed at Rome between the pope and Ferdinand VI, King of Spain. It was the custom in that country that the king nominated to archbishoprics and bishoprics; that for the kingdom of Granada he named to all benefices; and that as to the rest of the benefices of his other States, excepting those of which the founders had reserved the right of patronage, the popes should name to them during eight months of the year, and the bishops and chapters during the other four months.

By the new treaty Benedict abandoned that custom and granted to the king: (1) the right of nomination, during the eight months, to benefices situated in Europe; (2) the revenues of vacant bishoprics, and the property of deceased bishops. Only it was specified that such revenues should be used according to the canons. The pope reserved the nomination only to fifty-two benefices, which he specified in detail. To recompense Rome for the advantages which she

surrendered, the king assured certain sums agreed upon, on condition that a part of the revenues thus abandoned by Rome should be assigned to the nuncio resident at Madrid, the king engaging to pay him annually ten thousand dollars.

Benedict on that occasion, as on so many others, manifested his love of peace and his disinterestedness as to the merely pecuniary interests of the Holy See.

In the years immediately preceding the death of the pope, Paris was agitated by the useless and almost always exacting remonstrances of the Parliament, and especially by the ill treatment of the noble Archbishop of Paris, Christopher de Beaumont. In concert with Rome, that worthy prelate, a pattern to the well-instructed and uniformly courageous clergy of France, had raised his voice in defence of the rights of the Church, which were so persistently attacked by the Protean enemies who, in all forms and under all masks, not seldom sprang from the higher orders of society.

The prelate, while in exile at Conflans, published a pastoral on the teaching of the faith, the administration of the sacraments, and submission to the bull; and he forbade the reading of certain works of immoral tendency, which he designated. He established the rights of the first pastors, proved their independence, alike for the teaching of the faith and the administration of the sacraments; and he based those principles upon the Scripture itself, upon the uniform language of tradition, and upon the orders of the sovereigns. He showed that the contrary opinion was newfangled, dictated by party spirit, party need, and party greed, and he showed that it was rejected by the most famous appellants—Quesnel, Colbert, and by Van Espen; and he further showed that the last, in his earlier writings, had replied to the worn-out objections of the innovators. The prelate said, with Bossuet, to those who boasted of the piety of the appellants:

"They talk only about living aright, as though believing aright were not the very foundation of their doing so."

He concluded by forbidding works tending to encroachment upon the authority of the Church, and especially nine sentences of the Parliament, and forbidding, also, the administration or reception of sacraments by order of secular judges.

The Parliament of Paris, in prohibiting the publication of that instruction, consigned by the common hangman to the flames destined for the execution of malefactors a pastoral instruction in which their archbishop, in unison with the sentiments of the entire Church, eloquently warned his flock what to reject and taught them what to believe.

The position of the Church in England had not for an instant ceased to interest the heart of Benedict. His brief Apostolicum, of 1753, organized missions in that country. As early as 1688 the Holy See had established four bishops in England. In 1695 Rome made the authority of these bishops in all things superior to that of the secular chapter and the religious. The latter resisted the decree, as contrary to their existing privileges. The Benedictines and the Jesuits were most zealous in maintaining their pretensions. The latter were very numerous in England, where, as elsewhere, they endeared themselves to the faithful. The English Benedictines, the remnant of a congregation that had formerly held a very brilliant place in the British Islands, were exclusively devoted to the office of missionaries. They had a house at Paris to train members for London and other places in England. Benedict appointed some Benedictines as bishops, and concord was insensibly established by the profound sagacity with which Benedict perceived the evil and applied to it the practical and possible remedy, which re-

stored excited minds to obedience and true evangelical fraternity.

Other acts testified both the watchful and paternal spirit of Benedict over Catholicism in America.

We now proceed to give details upon the publication of the Eucology of the united Greeks.

The Greeks have their Eucology, a ritual or pontifical containing the ecclesiastical prayers and the benedictions of the Church.

The Greek schismatics, in 1631, printed one which contained errors. Philip IV of Spain, informed of the fact by some Greek Catholics, referred the case to Urban VIII, who confided the examination to John Morin of the Oratory of France, and to the famous Jesuit, Denis Petavius, whose age prevented his visiting Paris. Eighty-two meetings took place in 1645, without arriving at a conclusion of the examination. It was continued under Innocent X, and slowly dragged on as far as the reign of Benedict XIV. That pontiff infused a new activity into the proceedings of the congregation; and at length a corrected Eucology came from the presses of the Propaganda. Then the pope proposed it as the rule for all bishops and ecclesiastics of the Greek rite. The sacred erudition that was contained in that work proved how worthy the pontiff who then wore the tiara was of that sovereign dignity.

Benedict XIV made his fourth promotion of cardinals on the 26th of November, 1754. It included, among others:

(1) Joseph Mary Ferroni, a noble Florentine, born on the 30th of April, 1693. He was secretary of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, and died in 1767.

(2) Fabricius Serbelloni, born at Milan on the 7th of November, 1695. He was nuncio to Florence, Cologne,

Poland, and to Vienna. He died at Rome on the 8th of December, 1775.

(3) John Francis Stoppani, a noble Milanese, born on the 16th of September, 1695; nuncio to Florence, Venice, and Vienna. Died at Rome on the 18th of November, 1774.

(4) Charles Francis Durini, born at Milan on the 20th of January, 1693; nuncio in Switzerland and in France. He died at Milan on the 26th of June, 1769.

(5) Vincent Malvezzi, Count of Salva. He was born at Bologna on the 22d of February, 1715; master of the chamber to Benedict XIV. He died at Cento on the 3d of December, 1775.

(6) Louis Mary Torreggiani, a noble Florentine, was born on the 8th of October, 1688; secretary of the Consulta. He died at Rome on the 5th of January, 1777.

The fifth promotion of cardinals by Benedict XIV was made on the 22d of April, 1755. It consisted only of Antonio Sersale, a Neapolitan, born at Sorrento on the 26th of June, 1702, Bishop of Brindisi, where he restored the cathedral and seminary, ruined by an earthquake. Archbishop, first of Tarento, and then of Naples, he died on the 24th of June, 1770. In the famine and epidemic of 1764 he displayed an indefatigable charity.

In a sixth promotion, on the 18th of December, 1755, Benedict promoted Louis Portocarrero, Archbishop of Toledo, who died March 26, 1771; and on the 5th of April, 1756, he promoted:

(1) Nicholas de Saulx Tavannes, born at Paris on the 9th of September, 1690; Bishop of Châlons, and subsequently Archbishop of Rouen and grand almoner. He died on the 10th of March, 1759.

(2) Alberic Archinto, a noble Milanese, born on the 8th of November, 1698. He was governor of Rome.

(3) John Baptist Rovero, a noble Piedmontese, Archbishop of Turin.

(4) Francis de Solis-Folch de Cardona, a noble Spaniard, born at Madrid on the 17th of February, 1713. He was canon, and afterwards, in succession, dean of the cathedral of Malaga, administrator of the metropolitan church of Toledo, and Bishop of Cordova. He was created cardinal at the request of Ferdinand VI.

(5) John Joseph Trautmannsdorff, a noble German, born at Vienna on the 23d of July, 1704. He was Archbishop of Vienna, in which city he died on the 10th of March, 1757.

(6) Paul d'Albert de Luynes, of an illustrious French family, born at Versailles on the 5th of January, 1703. After entering the army he became a priest, then vicar-general of Meaux, Bishop of Bayeux, Archbishop of Sens. He was created cardinal at the request of James III, "King of England."

(7) Stephen René de Potier, of the French family of the dukes of Gevres. He was Bishop of Beauvais, and was named cardinal on the recommendation of the King of Poland.

(8) Francis Conrad Casimir de Roth, a noble German, born at Murispurg, in the diocese of Constance. He became bishop of that city, and was named cardinal at the request of the Empress Maria Teresa.

(9) Francis de Saldanha, a noble Portuguese, principal of the patriarchal church of Lisbon, and then patriarch, named at the request of King Joseph I.

Meantime, frequent attacks of gout had weakened the health of the pope. At the beginning of the year 1758 they became more severe. His agonies were insupportable, but when they gave him some respite, his serenity of mind returned as completely as though he had never suffered and

should never suffer again. But the disease speedily increased.

On the 3d of May, 1758, the pontiff died, at the age of eighty-three, and after governing the Church seventeen years, eight months, and six days. On the following day his remains were removed from the Quirinal to the Sistine Chapel, and thence to the basilica, where his obsequies were performed.

Benedict XIV, a great prince and a very learned scholar, was a rare example of the studious and the monarchical intellect combined with constant affability and purity of life. Such a character is necessarily appreciated and admired by all. The gentleness of his voice, whether in replying or in instructing or commanding, and even when he reproved or found himself obliged to punish, was by no means his least remarkable ornament; and he always manifested the same equanimity even under the most difficult circumstances. His conversation was very agreeable, and was occasionally enlivened by lively repartees, full of the Attic salt of mingled wit, grace, and gaiety. His magnanimous enterprises for the grandeur of the Church place him in the ranks of the most glorious pontiffs. Forgetful of his family, his thoughts were ever solely upon the public weal, which he fostered with a rare ability and vigilance.

With respect to his embellishments of Rome, we must mention the restoration of the hospital of the Holy Ghost; the improvement of the road leading from Saint John Lateran to Holy Cross of Jerusalem; the marvellous cupola of Saint Peter's, secured against the fears of ruin entertained by all acquainted with architecture; the port of Ancona enlarged, and the cathedral of Bologna perfected.

"Prosper Lambertini," says Walpole, "Bishop of Rome under the name of Benedict XIV, although an absolute

prince, always reigned inoffensively. He restored the lustre of the tiara. By what art did he achieve that glory? Solely by his virtues. Honored by the friends of the papacy and esteemed by Protestants, he was an ecclesiastic free from interestedness and insolence; a prince without a favorite; a pope without nepotism; an author without vanity; a man whom neither intellect nor power could corrupt. Such is the deserved homage that the favorite son of a minister who never courted any prince, or venerated any churchman, presents to the excellent Roman pontiff."

Nor is that all: John Pitt, a relative of the great English minister of that name, having procured the bust of Benedict XIV, engraved the following inscription upon the pedestal:

"John Pitt, who has never spoken well of any prince of the Roman Church, raises this monument in honor of Benedict XIV, sovereign pontiff."

The works of Benedict were printed at Venice in sixteen volumes, folio. In all those writings there is evidence of vast learning and a profound acquaintance with both civil and canon law, and history, both sacred and profane. Benedict XIV also gave the world an edition of the Martyrology of Benedict XIII (Rome, 1748), and of some other writings.

The moderation, equity, and spirit of peace, which were the very soul of his government, rendered his pontificate at once prosperous and respected. Nevertheless, his accommodating temper sometimes granted to temporary considerations, or to mere complaisance, something more than was either needful or, strictly speaking, justifiable; and his affability prevented him from being sufficiently stern in opposing growing systems of which his successors witnessed the bitter fruits.

The Holy See was vacant two months and five days.

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CLEMENT XIII—A.D. 1758

CLEMENT XIII (Carlo della Torre Rezzonico) was born at Venice, March 7, 1693, of noble patricians of that republic, John Baptist Rezzonico and Victoria Barbadigo.

The Rezzonico family derives its origin from the city of Como, and was there from an early date admitted to the decurionship. There it also obtained the title of free barons of the Holy Empire, by virtue of a diploma of Leopold I, in 1665, granting them permission to use on their arms the imperial eagle of Austria. About the middle of the sixteenth century a part of the family settled successively at Parma and Genoa. From this last city the pontiff's grandfather, Aurelius Rezzonico, the head of the house, removed to Venice in 1687, and was registered in the Golden Book.

At the age of ten Carlo went to Bologna to study rhetoric and philosophy in the Jesuit college of Saint Francis Xavier; he then returned home and for two years pursued a theological and legal course. Having received the doctor's cap at Padua, he came to Rome at the age of twenty-two, and in 1714 was admitted into the noble ecclesiastical academy; there, under the direction of learned men, among others James Lanfredini, then a celebrated advocate, and subsequently a distinguished cardinal, he thoroughly studied legal science. With such acquirements and solid virtues, Carlo entered the prelacy on the 28th of March, 1716, and was appointed prothonotary participant.

Clement XI sent him as governor to Rieti, then to Fano.

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In 1725 Carlo was recalled to Rome, to become one of the ponenti di Consulta. In 1729 he was appointed auditor of the Rota, a post which he filled for eight years with zeal and ability. To reward these services Clement XII created him cardinal on the 20th of December, 1737. Benedict XIV conferred on him the see of Padua, where he resided for sixteen years, bishop, pastor, and father; and to this day the memory of his charity, of his mild and sagacious supervision, is retained.

On the death of Benedict XIV, in 1758, his funeral was celebrated, though, in consequence of the ninth day falling on Whitsunday, the period was restricted to eight days. On that day, as on Christmas, Easter, and other solemn feasts, bulls of Pius IV and Gregory XV prescribe that the funeral of a pope should be suspended, and the value of the tapers which would have been used be given to the poor.

On the 15th of May, Whitsunday, twenty-seven cardinals entered the conclave. Five, actually in Rome, were prevented by ill health from entering on that day, among others Cardinal Mesmer, aged eighty-seven. Several cardinals from other parts of Europe subsequently arrived.

In the ballot on the 19th of June, Cardinal Cavalchini obtained twenty-one votes, and two days later thirty-three cardinals resolved to name him pope, but the same evening the French cardinals, through Cardinal de Luynes, notified the cardinal-dean that their court excluded Cavalchini. Cardinal Guadagni said zealously but sincerely to the French members of the college: "Vos autem Spiritui Sancto semper resistitis." The next day Cardinal Lanté informed Cavalchini of the action of France. He replied with the courage of conscious virtue: "It is a manifest proof that God deems me unworthy to fill the functions of his vicar upon earth."

Some of the electors, headed by Cardinal de Roth, who

entered the conclave on the 29th of May, with the instructions of the emperor, thought of elevating Rezzonico, and labored with remarkable promptitude to secure his election. In the ballot of the 4th of July he had twenty-two out of forty-four votes, and on the 6th, after some discussion, he was chosen by thirty-one votes. He lacked twelve votes, and of course his own; these were given to Cardinal d'Elci, dean, and to various cardinals.

Rezzonico, invited to accept the election, shed copious tears; they urged him not to refuse the tiara, and he yielded to the entreaties of his friends. In memory of Clement XII, who had given him the purple, he took the name of Clement XIII. On the 16th of July, 1758, he was crowned, and on the 13th of November he solemnly took possession of Saint John Lateran.

In communicating his elevation to the Catholic courts, Clement manifested all the apostolic ardor of his soul. He exhorted them to a prompt peace.

The senate of Venice had published an edict forbidding any of its subjects to treat of any matter with the Roman court without the permission of the republic, except matters relating to the penitentiary. This edict led to dissensions between Venice and Benedict XIV, who frequently solicited the repeal of the act.

Clement was a Venetian, and, relying on the love which his fellow-citizens bore him, renewed the appeal. By a letter of August 5, he thanked the senate for their expressions of joy at the election of one of their sons. The Rezzonico family had been signally honored on that occasion. The senate almost to a man proceeded to the Rezzonico palace to felicitate Aurelius, brother of the new pope.

The senate suspended the execution of the act for four months, and soon after announced to His Holiness its abso-

lute revocation, asking him to accept the new testimony of their joy.

Clement wished to show the Empress Maria Teresa a striking proof of his esteem. He addressed her a brief renewing to her and her successors the perpetual title of "Apostolic," already given to Saint Stephen, king, by Pope Sylvester II, so that they might be addressed as Apostolic Majesty.

On the 8th of September, the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, the pope proceeded to the Church of Saint Mary del Popolo, and received from Constable Colonna the palfrey and tribute for the fief of the kingdom of Naples, the vacancy of the see having prevented their being offered on Saint Peter's day.

At Padua Clement nobly performed a bishop's duties. He wrote, in consequence, to all the bishops of Christendom to remind them of those duties: "Swear peace with each other. On the day of his ascension, our Lord recommended to his apostles Peace alone. Be not eager to rule, show no pride, but be liberal to the poor. They have an undoubted right to the goods of the Church, which belong to the poor, while the bishop is only the administrator. Be assiduous in prayer, which is ever efficacious when accompanied by faith, humility, and perseverance. Do not neglect to offer the Holy Sacrifice; there you will obtain prudence to manage affairs. Instruct your flock concerning Christian duty. As bishops cannot do everything in person, be circumspect in the choice of pastors to aid you. Do not admit to holy orders all who present themselves without vocation. If you cannot preach, if you deem yourselves unfitted to certain occupations, do what you can, administer the sacraments, frequent the canons in the choir, give conferences on moral theology, and especially never leave your churches without grave reasons."

So necessary did Clement deem residence that by an edict of March 3, 1759, he required strict residence of archbishops, bishops, and ecclesiastics of every grade who had a benefice or a title, obliging them to constant personal residence. Revoking all previously accorded permissions, he ordered all ecclesiastics not retained by official duty at Rome to leave the city within twelve days, and proceed direct to their churches; or otherwise incur the penalties imposed by the Council of Trent and the Apostolic Constitutions, and additional penalties provided by the act.

The vocation of Cardinal York called him to the priesthood. Prince Charles Edward, his brother, was full of life; he had ventured to London in 1753, and came back with hopes which were never realized, but which he could never give up. The three courts of the house of Bourbon were consulting as to his marriage. The cardinal seemed free to follow his vocation. Accordingly, the pope, in a consistory held in October, made him Bishop of Corinth in partibus, and consecrated him in the Church of the Holy Apostles.

On his return from the ceremony, the pope invited the English cardinal to a grand public banquet, at which ten other cardinals who had been present at the consecration were also guests. As this is the first time that we have had occasion to speak of a great public dinner at which a pope was present, we shall give some idea of the banquet.

A throne was raised in the ducal hall, beneath which was a table for the pope alone; at some distance was another for the cardinals, who, after laying aside the mozzetta as the pope did, sat on benches in soutane, rochet, and mantelletta. They were served on silver dishes; those of the pope were silver-gilt.

At the beginning of the dinner, some chapters were read from the works of Saint Gregory, till the moment when the

pope drank for the first time. Then the first master of ceremonies notified the cardinals that the pope drank the health of James, King of England, father of the cardinal just consecrated. The second and third times that the pope drank were to the health of the Sacred College—first to the cardinals present, then to the absent. Then the cardinals present rose and took off the biretta. All present knelt. The masters of ceremonies introduced as many persons as the room would hold. All were eager to witness the spectacle, which had not been seen for many years.

The table of the cardinals was directed by the Marquis John Patrizi, first mayor of the palace. The pope sent from his table to that of the cardinals two dishes of sturgeon and pheasants.

When the reading resumed, after the health was ended, the pontifical chanters began to execute some sacred motets, with organ and counter-bass accompaniments. After dinner the cardinals, ranged in a semicircle on the benches, conversed for a time with the pope, then led him to his own apartments.

This year Clement made two promotions of cardinals. In the first, on the 11th of September, he made his nephew, Charles Rezzonico, born in 1724, a cardinal. In the second, on the 2d of October, he created as cardinals, Monsignor Priuli, Bishop of Vicenza, and Francis Joachim de Pierre de Bernis, born May 12, 1715, at first canon of the chapter of Brioude in Auvergne, then of Lyons, then French ambassador to Venice, then extraordinary ambassador to Spain, counsellor of the Ecclesiastical States, ambassador at Vienna, minister and secretary of state for foreign affairs.

Meanwhile Count d'Oeyras, Marquis de Pombal, persecuted the Jesuits with a rage which Rome could neither conceive nor tolerate. Under pretexts of an impossible con-

spiracy, and accusations never proven, the minister had them banished from his master's States, and Clement had welcomed them with affable generosity. Pombal, not satisfied with sending innocent victims to the scaffold, endeavored to prevent the pope from receiving the Jesuits into his dominions. Clement proposed the only thing that could be asked in reason, a reform if needed; but the minister ordered the pope to decree the destruction of the order. Clement, however, would not yield to the violence of the cruel minister of Joseph I.

Pombal supported his demand by a malicious forgery entitled "Abridged Relation of the Republic which the Religious of the Society of Jesus of the Province of Portugal and Spain have Established in the Domains of the Two Monarchies, and of the War which they have Declared and Sustained against the Spanish and Portuguese Armies." It was written by Pombal himself, and no such republic or armies existed in Paraguay. Absurd as such a charge may appear in these days of rapid communication, it found believers, and strict orders were given to prevent the publication of any refutation. Unfortunately, too, the court of Madrid, although no mention of such matters was to be found in the official despatches from South America, at last was induced to give its support to the monstrous imposture. High officials spoke of losing pitched battles against the troops of the Society of Jesus.

While the courts in the Peninsula were thus carrying on a war of unscrupulous bitterness and malice against a devoted order in the Church, France swarmed with writers who openly assailed religion. Among other works appeared De l'Esprit, by Helvetius, which was at once condemned by De Beaumont, Archbishop of Paris.

In a third promotion, September 24, 1759, Clement XIII

raised to the purple: (1) Ferdinand Mary de Rossi, a Roman noble, born at Cortona, August 4, 1696; (2) Ignatius Crivelli, a noble Milanese, born on September 30, 1698, nuncio at Verona; (3) Louis Merlini, a noble of Forli, born at Forli, November 13, 1690; (4) Philip Acciaioli, a Florentine noble, born at Rome, March 12, 1700, nuncio in Portugal; (5) Louis de Gualtieri, born at Orvieto, October 12, 1706, nuncio at Paris; (6) Jerome Spinola, a Genoese noble, born October 15, 1713, nuncio at Madrid; (7) Anthony Mary Erba Odescalchi, a noble Milanese, born January 21, 1712, maestro di camera; (8) Santo Veronese, a noble Venetian, born July 12, 1684, Bishop of Padua; (9) Louis Valenti, an Umbrian noble, born at Trevi, April 27, 1695, Bishop of Rimini, and assessor of the Holy Office; (10) Joseph Mary Castelli, a Milanese noble, born October 14, 1705, commander of the hospice of the Holy Ghost; (11) Peter Francis Bussi, a Roman noble, born July 28, 1684, dean of the Rota; (12) Gaetan Fantuzzi, a Ravenna noble, born August 1, 1708, auditor of the Rota for Ferrara; (13) Friar Anthony Augustine Orsi, a noble Florentine, born May 9, 1692, a Dominican, secretary of the Index in 1737, master of the sacred palace in 1749; (14) Peter Jerome Guglielmi, born at Jesi, December 4, 1694, secretary of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars; (15) Joseph Alexander Furietti, noble of Bergamo, born January 24, 1685, secretary of the Congregation of the Council and Residence of Bishops; (16) Peter Paul Conti, noble of Camerino, born February 24, 1689, secretary of the Buon Governo; (17) Nicholas Antonelli, noble of Sinigaglia in the city of Pergola, born July 8, 1698, secretary of the Propaganda; (18) Friar Lorenzo Ganganelli of the order of Conventuals, born in Sant' Arcangelo in Vado, October 31, 1705, consulter of the Holy Office; (19) John Constantius Caracciolo, Neapolitan noble, born at Naples, December 19, 1715, auditor-general of the chamber;

(20) Nicholas Perelli, of the family of the dukes of Monte Staraccio, born at Naples, October 22, 1696, treasurer-general of the apostolic chamber; (21) Mark Antony Colonna, a Roman prince, born August 16, 1742, majordomo of the pope; (22) Andrew Corsini, a noble of Florentine origin, born at Rome, June 11, 1735, prothonotary apostolic.

While Portugal gave so much cause for grief, affecting scenes occurred in Corsica. At the instance of General Paoli and other Corsican notables, the pope had deputed with necessary faculties, but without prejudice to the jurisdiction of the respective bishops and the temporal authority of the Genoese, Monsignor Cæsar Crescentius de Angelis, Bishop of Segni, conferring on him the title of apostolic visitor for the island of Corsica. Civil war had given rise to increasing trouble and irreligion in many dioceses. The churches of Aleria, Mariana, Ajaccio, and Nebbio were destitute of pastors. The Corsicans, where they were masters, expelled all who were deemed favorable to the Genoese. The apostolic visitor having landed, the republic of Genoa, by an edict in the name of the doge and governors, offered a reward of six thousand crowns to any one who should arrest the pontifical agent and deliver him to the republic. The Holy Father assembled a consistory, and showed how insulting this edict was to the Holy See, inasmuch as the sending of a visitor concerned only ecclesiastical matters, without any reference to political questions. Was religion not to be revived in Corsica, vice banished, and abuses punished? Then of itself respect for the lawful prince would be enkindled. The pope accordingly overruled, annulled, and condemned the edict. The Genoese maintained their order to seize Monsignor de Angelis; and the pope, who had in view only the interests of his sacred duty, could not abandon either his

desires of religious concord or his minister, the bearer of the olive-branch to a Catholic country.

The King of Naples having offered to mediate, Clement replied that the Genoese must first recall their offensive edict, and then he would think of recalling the visitor. In this way, even if the difference should not be at once appeased, it would assume a peaceful aspect, and a settlement would become an object of hope.

Meanwhile, Ferdinand, King of the Two Sicilies, wished to obtain the investiture of that kingdom. Cardinal Orsini, the king's minister, a man of honorable character, was sent with a proxy authorizing him to offer homage and fealty.

In a consistory Monsignor Emaldi, secretary of briefs to princes, read this proxy, and then the cardinal took the oath of fidelity. After signing and sealing it with his arms, he touched the Gospels, and handed the document to the master of ceremonies. Then the pope, taking the cardinal by the hand, granted the investiture solicited. The bull of concession was signed by the pope and by all the cardinals present.

By an autograph letter the pope directed the conservators of Rome to print, at the expense of the Capitoline Chamber, the Roman inscriptions collected throughout the city of Rome by the Benedictine Father, Peter Louis Galetti, afterwards Bishop of Cyrene. These were to illustrate the history of many Roman families. This work was published, and stands a proof of Clement's love for historical studies.

On the 14th of June, 1761, Clement XIII condemned an Exposition of Christian Doctrine, printed at Naples in 1758, 1759, and 1760, and translated from the French of Mesenguy. To restrain the faithful from the dangers incurred by the use of such books, Clement, by an encyclical addressed to the bishops of the Catholic world, exhorted

them to use, in instructing their flocks, the Roman Catechism drawn up by his predecessors, and especially by Pope Saint Pius V, after the Council of Trent. In fact, the pontiff, to condemn more absolutely the heresies of the time, had drawn up a catechism teaching what was to be believed and what was to be avoided in matters of faith. To meet the heresies contained in the work condemned, Clement ordered a new edition of the Catechism prepared by himself, and it was accordingly issued from the press of the chamber. The Roman Catechism was compiled by three famous theologians. The Creed and Sacraments were assigned to Mutius Calini of Brescia, Archbishop of Zara, and afterwards Bishop of Terni, who also drew up the Index of Prohibited Books, and revised the Roman Breviary and Missal. Peter Calesini, a learned Milanese, revised the Decalogue. The Lord's Prayer was the work of Julius Poggiani, a celebrated man of Suna, in the diocese of Novara. Poggiani also rewrote the other parts, to render the style uniform. A congregation appointed by Saint Pius V, presided over by Cardinal William Sirlet, revised the doctrine of the whole work. With such care and patience was the Roman Catechism issued.

All admired the mildness of Clement XIII, but it had well-nigh led to evils afflicting the Romans. The roads began to be unsafe. Brigands devastated the land. Complaints against the pontifical government arose on all sides.

Clement ordered Cardinal Torrigiani, secretary of state, to renew the edicts issued against any who waylaid travelers upon the roads and troubled isolated houses. A bull of Sixtus V (July 1, 1585), republished by the pope, alarmed the bandits, and the very name of Sixtus, who once restored public security, was enough to recall to their normal state the interrupted communications of commerce.

On the 20th of September, 1761, the pope beatified Gregory Barbadigo, Archbishop of Padua, a relative of his own. The Roman senate were ordered to repair to the Vatican to venerate the newly beatified.

Clement was in general so loved, so applauded, so good, so beneficent, that this preference suddenly given to one of his mother's relatives gave rise to no discontent; moreover, Cardinal Barbadigo had, by his eminent virtues, deserved the honor conferred on him by the Holy See.

At this time His Holiness in his private chapel gave the sacrament of confirmation to Cæsar Lambertini, grandnephew of Benedict XIV. Cardinal Orsini, as proxy of Charles III, King of Spain, was sponsor.

On the 23d of November, 1761, Clement made his fourth promotion of cardinals. They were promoted in the following order: (1) Bonaventure de Cordova Spinola de la Cerda, a Spaniard, born March 23, 1724, Patriarch of the Indies; (2) Christopher de Migazzi de Valle à Solletturin, a German, born at Trent, October 20, 1714, Archbishop of Vienna; (3) Anthony de Choiseul Beaupré, a French noble, born September 28, 1706, Archbishop of Besançon; (4) John Francis Joseph de Rochechouart, a French noble, born January 27, 1708, Bishop of Laon; (5) Francis Christopher de Huten in Stolzemberg, a noble German, born March 8, 1706, Bishop of Spires; (6) Henry Virginius Natta, a noble Piedmontese, born January 10, 1701, Bishop of Alba; (7) John Molino, a noble Venetian, born April 16, 1705, Bishop of Brescia; (8) Louis Constantine de Rohan, Bishop of Strasburg; (9) Balthazar Cenci, born November 1, 1710, secretary of the Consulta; (10) Cornelius Monti Caprara, a noble of Bologna, born August 16, 1702, governor of Rome.

Like all the pontiffs, Clement was eager to complete the works of his predecessors. The fountain of Trevi, the great

work of Salvi, lacked several indispensable ornaments. The bas-reliefs had been made merely of stucco; they were now replaced by marble, and statues were added.

By a bull published September 11, Clement conceded to the patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops, faculty to give to their flocks the papal benediction, with plenary indulgence, twice a year, once at Easter and once at their option. Inferior prelates allowed to wear the mitre received permission to give this benediction a second time each year; but this permission was not to be exercised till a bull was obtained, which was, however, issued gratis.

The pope, mindful of the years which he had sat in the Rota, showed his affection for it. By two constitutions the Holy Father secured decorum and a speedier administration of justice.

The first of these constitutions confirmed the privileges granted by ten pontiffs, adding still more honorable distinctions. An ancient method of judgments was restored, faculties were extended, and a desirable expedition given to causes.

The second abolished the sale of offices of notary of the Rota, and reimbursed moneys actually paid. It instituted a new regulation, assembling in a college all the notaries attached to the tribunal, with the right to draw up any act, and to be recognized as such in the tribunals of Rome. Finally, more suitable halls were prepared for these magistrates in the Vatican.

Meanwhile hostile dispositions full of persecution against the Jesuits increased in France. One of the pretexts used was the case of Father Lavalette, of that society.

In 1761 Father Anthony Lavalette was made superior-general of all the missions in South America. He was soon accused of being engaged in trade. M. de Bompar, com-

mandant at Martinique, and M. Husson, intendant, defended his conduct; but he was a Jesuit, and this was sufficient to make him an object of persecution. Accusations were framed at Paris and laid before De Rouillé, minister of the marine. The league against the society, encouraged by Pombal, was sure of the Parliament of Paris, but not as yet of the court and ministry. The aid of Madame de Pompadour, the favorite of Louis XV, was, however, soon gained. She assumed the air of a devotee in order to obtain influence with Queen Mary Leczinska, to whom she was lady of honor.

But to cover all, she wished a confessor who would absolve her without insisting on her departure from the palace, satisfied with the mere statement that she had broken off all intercourse with the king. The Jesuit, Father de Sacy, her confessor in her earlier days, refused to comply with her request, and his refusal increased a bitterness aroused by Father de Neuville, who, in a sermon preached before the king on Candlemas, 1757, after Damien's attempt on his life, called the monarch's attention to God's singular goodness towards him, and urged him to turn to his Maker with his whole heart by a sincere and perfect conversion. Madame de Pompadour, therefore, threw herself heart and soul into the party which sought the ruin of the Jesuits. The members of that order, in spite of all the efforts of their enemies, had still great influence over youth by their colleges, and over all ages by their sodalities. The sodalities were then what they have always been, pious associations of zealous persons united in prayers and good works. No one had ever dreamed that such associations could be dangerous; they had no secrecy, nothing but what tended to nourish faith, piety, the practice of works commanded or counselled by the Gospel; they were, moreover, under the supervision and pro-

tection of the first pastors. None of these considerations arrested the action of the Parliament. Philosophy, as infidelity styled itself, and Jansenism then ruled in that body, and it must needs gratify its enmity against the Jesuits; it had, too, to punish the society that had so often resisted parliamentary assaults on the rights of the Church. Now it beheld itself upheld by Madame de Pompadour, irritated by Father de Neuville's sermon and Father de Sacy's severity; upheld, too, by the ministry, earnestly importuned by the cabinets of Lisbon and Madrid. The Parliament denounced the sodalities as clandestine conventicles, suspicious assemblies, full of danger to the State. An act of April 28, 1760, suppressed them all; and it is to be remarked that at the very time when these asylums of piety were proscribed, Masonic lodges, till then almost unknown in France, began to extend and multiply unchecked and uncensured. Encouraged by this first success, the hostile party sought an opportunity for a more decisive blow against the Jesuits. This, unfortunately, Father Lavalette furnished.

With almost all authority in his hands, he was led away by the hope of restoring the financial condition of the mission, long oppressed with debts incurred by acts of charity, and now affording a bare sustenance to the missionaries. Father Lavalette, without the knowledge of Laurence Ricci, the general of the society, purchased with borrowed money considerable estates in Dominica, a neighboring island, and employed two thousand slaves in cultivating them. While clearing the grounds a part of the negroes were swept off by an epidemic and the labor arrested. Meanwhile the day for repaying the million livres borrowed in Lyons and Marseilles approached, and Father Lavalette, to satisfy his creditors, borrowed again at ruinous rates, and without advice plunged into new speculations in hope of retrieving. With-

out confining himself to selling the products of his estates, he bought colonial produce to sell again, and sent several ship-loads, not to France, but to Holland, hoping thus to elude discovery. War with England was threatening, and the latter country with her usual policy began, before declaring war, to sweep French vessels from the seas. Most of the ships of Father Lavalette fell into the hands of the English. Undismayed, he rushed into new operations, every one more disastrous than the last. The general, informed at last of this disorder, could scarcely credit the fact, but direct information from Martinique, in 1757, dissipated all doubts. He at once despatched a visitor, who broke his leg on the way; a second died; a third was captured by the English; and the fourth, Father Francis de la Marche, reached Martinique only to find it in the hands of the English. He at once cited Father Lavalette before him, and after examination deprived him of all administration, spiritual and temporal, and suspended him a sacris, till absolved by the general. Father Lavalette signed a full statement, acknowledging his guilt, and admitting that he had acted without the knowledge or consent of his superiors.

While his failure was thus made known, the chief creditors, in concert with the Jesuits of France, aided by many bishops, sought means quietly to settle the whole affair, and out of a total of two million four hundred thousand francs admitted by Father Lavalette, had succeeded in raising eight hundred thousand, when the party in the pay of Pombal saw the danger. They urged some of the creditors to sue, not the mission of Martinique, but the society as responsible. The case came off in the Parliament of Paris; and led by the advocate-general, Le Pelletier de Saint Fargeau, father of one of the regicides of Louis XVI, the Parliament condemned the society in France. But no sooner did they at-

tempt to meet this decision than an act passed confiscating all their property; and at the same time forged claims poured in, swelling the original indebtedness to five million of francs.

The French episcopate did not abandon the society. Of fifty-one archbishops and bishops then in Paris, forty-four showed themselves favorable to the members of the society and signed a declaration in their favor; and of the remaining seven, Monsignor de Grasse, Bishop of Angers, added his signature; two others belonged to the family of Choiseul, the prime minister.

On the 6th of August, 1761, the procurator-general appealed from all the briefs or bulls concerning the Society of Jesus. This was followed by an act prohibiting the Jesuits from maintaining colleges, and forbidding any of the king's subjects to study there. Louis XV suspended the act for a year, and promised the pope that it should not be put in force, but the magistrates decreed that the suspension should not extend beyond April 1, 1762.

The weakness of the court encouraged the audacity of the enemies of the society, and Parliament went so far as to accuse the Jesuits of idolatry!

Rome was not insensible to these terrible proceedings. Clement XIII addressed a brief to Louis XV in regard to the Jesuits on the 9th of June, 1762. "We beg Your Majesty," said the vicar of Christ, "with the most ardent expression of desire, not to banish the Jesuits. Their cause is essentially connected with that of the Catholic religion. The most sacred rights of religion are at stake. If lay magistrates violate them, religion itself will perish. The rules of a holy institute approved and confirmed by the Holy See are concerned; they cannot in any manner be abandoned to the decision of magistrates. The pontiff, after addressing

fervent prayers to God, recurs now with confidence to the royal authority. He conjures the king to remedy such imminent evils, to avoid scandal which must arise, to extend his protecting arm to a tottering society, and at the same time to religion itself."

The pope also addressed the French bishops: "You cannot, without being sensibly affected, see such brave defenders, such learned masters, such useful laborers torn from you."

"We lament," he wrote again, "that in France religion finds more enemies than defenders; we mourn that a society ever vigilant to defend the Catholic faith should be oppressed and dispersed by a perverse faction. The institute approved by the Council of Trent, confirmed by the pontiffs, loaded with favors by kings of France, is assailed with opprobrium which reaches the very height of absurdity. Laymen take on themselves to declare null vows whose validity is a question for the Church alone to decide."

The pope concludes by exhorting the bishops to patience, constancy, and prayer, which gives strength to support these accumulated evils.

At that time the Bishop of Valence having communicated to the pope the insults offered to the Jesuits, the pope replied: "What, will not they refrain from persecuting the members of a society which has so well deserved of Catholicism and Christendom? These very religious who were received two centuries before in France, and protected by the good will of the kings, are suddenly assailed by those who should be the guardians of justice. They are condemned without trial or investigation. They have committed no crime; the hatred and envy of factions bring forward only vague charges. Against all justice, they are expelled to the prejudice of the public weal and the great injury of the Catholic Church."

By a brief addressed to the Cardinals de Rohan, de Rochechouart, de Choiseul, and de Bernis, the Holy Father announced to them that the Parliament having decreed the exile of the Jesuits, and declared their institute impious and irreligious, an institute approved as pious by the Catholic Church assembled in the Council of Trent, the Holy See, which had till then tolerated these excesses, could no longer do so without being unfaithful to its ministry. Accordingly, in a consistory the pontiff had revoked and declared null the act of the Parliament. The pope besought the cardinals, whose dignity united them so closely to Rome, to defend the honor of the Holy See with courage and constancy.

The Church of France groaned, said the pope, because men had shaken off the authority of the sovereign pontiff and of the Universal Church. Every one published his opinions, no matter how contrary to the faith and subversive of religion. The pope sought in vain a remedy for these evils; he wished at least to save the portion of the flock still uncontaminated.

Lorraine, which belonged to King Stanislas, was exempt from these miseries. Clement wrote entreating this prince not to permit the Jesuits to be expelled from his States. His Holiness portrayed the grief of the bishops of France on being deprived of the aid of these religious. He conjured him to imitate Joshua, who, in his advanced age, said to the magistrates whom he summoned around him: "If you will embrace the errors of these nations, . . . they shall be a pit and a snare in your way" (Joshua xxiii. 12, 13).

The pope added, in his letter to the king: "Reflect that the schools at Pont-à-Mousson, long since confided to the Jesuits, have been the barrier preventing the introduction of the doctrines of Luther, Calvin, Baius, Jansen, and Quesnel. These doctrines will soon enter if these religious are ex-

pelled and the direction of that university imprudently given to other professors."

On the 18th of July, 1763, Clement, by a new promotion, added to the Sacred College: (1) Simon Bonacorsi, a noble of Macerata, born November 17, 1708, secretary of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars; (2) Andrew Negroni, a noble Roman, born November 2, 1710, auditor of the pope.

Early in 1764 a scarcity attracted the pope's attention. The people of the neighborhood came to Rome for bread. No one was repulsed, and the public treasury met the wants of all.

Meanwhile, in France, they began to ask for the suppression of the Jesuits, whom they now wished destroyed in all other countries. The Archbishop of Paris, that prelate in whom all recognized another Saint Athanasius, saw that it was the duty of his ministry to defend and justify them. He issued a pastoral to his flock, in which he unmasked the calumnies of the oppressors and showed the innocence of the persecuted. The words of a prelate of such learning and virtue were rejected, and the archbishop was banished.

The king loved him, but he dared not follow his inclinations and resist the Parliament; all that the monarch could do, all that he believed it in his power to do, was to allow the archbishop to choose the place of his exile.

Clement no sooner heard of this than he sent to the prelate a consoling brief to revive his courage amid so much affliction. The pope praised the archbishop's firmness, his priestly fortitude, which revived the ancient Christian heroes, rushing forward to face every combat for the faith. The Holy Father regarded the archbishop as the model of ancient discipline and episcopal constancy.

In the summer the pope was informed that an almost unexampled scarcity menaced Rome. He imported grain from

Sicily, the Marches, and Leghorn; he sent to Marseilles, where, during the plague forty-four years before, the poor had wanted bread. The grateful city showed itself worthy of the benefit conferred by Clement XI. Even strangers from other parts came to Rome for aid. The pope sent them away with provisions, and even gave them money to take them home, telling them that he thanked them for coming thus to ask relief from the Father of all.

At this time the Bishop of Nola, who had just left the see of Chieti, wrote to the pope to declare to him that in his former diocese he had always employed to the advantage of his flock the zeal and care of Jesuits, and that he intended to do the same at Nola, because he saw in them brave and courageous laborers.

The pope replied that, in transferring him, his object was to place that prelate in a more salubrious district, and to give new blessings to the see of Nola, by confiding it to a pastor filled with true and sincere spiritual solicitude.

His Holiness praised the bishop's intention of calling for aid on the Jesuits, who would be as devoted at Nola as at Chieti. The pope added: "We know ourselves, by long experience at Padua, the probity, activity, and prudence of these Fathers. Now, in the pontificate, we receive from all sides proofs of their vigilance. During the last scarcity they were intrusted with the men's Reclusorio, where they had gathered the poor of the city, and those religious fulfilled their duties with the exactness to be expected of them."

Aware that the cause of the Church was really struck at through the members of the society, His Holiness felt obliged to defend them; and so he would defend them to the end with all his power. He daily commended them to God, to good Catholics, and to the Bishop of Nola himself, exhorting him to employ the zeal of the Fathers for the greater glory of their holy institute.

While the Jesuits received these testimonies of gratitude from Rome, the Parliament of Paris extracted from works of various Fathers of the society some propositions which, of its own authority, it declared pernicious; and it sent the last, entitled Assertions, to the bishops of the kingdom, that they might warn their diocesans not to admit these maxims. The Bishop of Angers was the first to approve this act, and he published a pastoral on the subject. Clement was no sooner aware of it than he sharply rebuked the prelate for assailing the society. His Holiness declared that the Parliament which had published the work was avowedly composed of persons, for the most part, enemies of the Church. This Parliament, by undertaking to address books to the bishops, insulted the first pastors, to whom alone it belongs to judge books that concern religion; that right is conferred on no lay power, and still less on a tribunal where truth is oppressed and trampled upon. Thus the Bishop of Angers erred in approving the aggression of a lay power and bestowing praise upon it.

The pope wrote to the same effect to the bishops of Aleth and Soissons, who had also approved the act of the Parliament and had exhorted their people to reject the propositions denounced without good grounds by the Parliament.

The Bishop of Sarlat wrote three letters to the pope. In the first he spoke in general of the wretched state of the Church in France. In the second he gave an account of what had been done for religion from 1755 to 1764. He disclosed the causes of the troubles which agitated sacred things to the point of exposing them to the most imminent danger. Speaking of the encyclical of Benedict XIV on Jansenism, the bishop said that, considered in itself, and in spite of the enemies of the faith and the friends of toleration, it was the rampart of the bull Unigenitus, the triumph of the strong, the ignominy of the weak, and the condemnation of

the refractory. In the third letter the bishop cited the criminal dogmas of the Jansenists, the errors which they disseminated to the prejudice of religion. His Holiness must have learned that these impious and absurd doctrines were daily spread abroad. The letter closed by saying that the Church in France had received from its enemies a mortal wound in the suppression of the society. They had required exile to facilitate the destruction of the Catholic Church, a destruction which could not take place as long as the most impregnable bulwark was opposed to their arms.

In 1765 Clement took other measures in regard to the Jesuits, deeming it a duty to renew his protection to that part of the family of regular orders. He recognized, as the Holy See had already so often said, that the institute of the Society of Jesus was to be regarded as founded by a canonized saint, approved after diligent examination by the pontiffs Paul III, Julius III, Paul IV, Gregory XIII, and Paul V, repeatedly confirmed by others, encouraged and adorned by new favors, singularly recommended by bishops of all times, especially protected by the most powerful princes, declared a pious institute by the Council of Trent, and illustrious as having given nine saints to the Church.

Then the pope thought it his duty to publish a bull to remedy the evils inflicted on the Church by the wrong done the society. This bull was the constitution Apostolicum pascendi munus, dated at Saint Mary Major, January 7, 1765. It approved the order, with high praise; and to meet the wishes of the bishops from all parts of the world desiring it, he declared the institute, as well as the ministers dependent on it, pious, useful to the Church, worthy of the constitutions by which nineteen popes had approved, honored, and recommended it.

The bull had no sooner appeared than libellous works is-

sued in various countries assailing it. Three of these were condemned at Rome.

On the 26th of January, 1765, the Congregation of Rites approved the worship of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. This devotion had been extending for many years, and pious souls were the more deeply attached to it as they saw the love of the Son of God disappearing from among men. It had been authorized by several briefs, among others by one of Benedict XIV, March 28, 1757.

On the 6th of February, 1765, Clement XIII approved the decree of the congregation; and the bishops of France soon after decided, in a deliberation on the subject, to celebrate the feast in their dioceses, and to induce their colleagues to follow that example. Pastorals were also issued explaining this devotion to the faithful and meeting objections to it. The true faithful are well aware that the worship of the Sacred Heart is only one way of exciting in us love to the Son of God, and the approbation of the Church is sufficient for those who only seek light.

Like all his predecessors, Clement omitted no opportunity to show his love for art. He acquired from individuals a number of statues, which he presented to the museum in the Capitol.

The Church had other troubles. The revolt already mentioned still subsisted at Utrecht.

By a constitution of June 18, 1765, Clement exempted from all jurisdiction the monastery of Monte Oliveto Maggiore, mother-house of the congregation of the Olivetans in the diocese of Pienza in Tuscany.

On the 21st of July, 1766, Clement, in a sixth promotion, raised to the cardinalate John Octavius Bufalini, born at Castello, January 15, 1709, nuncio in Switzerland and majordomo of the sacred palace, and John Charles Boschi,

born April 9, 1715, a noble of Faenza. On the 26th of September he promoted thirteen more, none of them French or Spaniards. They were:

(1) Louis Calini, born at a fief of his family near Brescia, January 18, 1696, commander of the hospice of the Holy Ghost; (2) Nicholas Serra, born at Genoa, November 17, 1706, auditor-general of the chamber; (3) Nicholas Oddi, a noble of Perugia, born September 27, 1715, Archbishop of Ravenna; (4) Anthony Colonna Branciforte, a Sicilian noble, born at Palermo, January 28, 1711, extraordinary nuncio at Paris in 1752; (5) Lazarus Opizio Pallavicini, born at Genoa, October 30, 1719, nuncio at Madrid; (6) Nitalian Borromei, a noble Milanese, born March 3, 1720, nuncio at Vienna; (7) Peter Pamphili Colonna, born at Paliano, December 7, 1725, nuncio at Paris; (8) Joseph Simonetti, born at Rome, September 23, 1709, secretary of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars; (9) Urban Paracciano, born at Rome, February 8, 1715, Archbishop of Fermo; (10) Philip Mary Pirelli, a Neapolitan noble, born at Napa, April 29, 1708, Archbishop of Damascus, and secretary of the Congregation of the Council; (11) Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini Rustichini, born at Sienna, August 22, 1709, governor of Rome; (12) Xavier Canali, born at Terni, February 15, 1695, treasurer-general of the apostolic chamber; (13) Benedict Veterani, born at Urbino, October 18, 1703, assessor of the Holy Office.

In 1767 the pope learned with affliction that the Catholic religion was oppressed in Poland. In the native land of Sobieski, foreign powers granted a public protection to Protestants and schismatics. The bishops of Cracow and Kiev had even been violently arrested and conveyed to their diocese. Zalucky, Bishop of Kiev, proceeded to Rome, and at the very moment when the Jesuits were banished from many

kingdoms, and their suppression furiously demanded, he took the habit in that persecuted order.

Monsignor Visconti was nuncio in Poland. Clement ordered him to use every effort to mitigate the misery of the Catholics, and to obtain for them freedom to practise the holy religion in which they were born. The remonstrances of the pope led to the union of most of the magistrates of the kingdom in a confederation. There they resolved to uphold the liberty of their nation and the dominant Catholic religion, without admitting the novelties which Protestants sought to introduce.

Meanwhile, Charles III, King of Spain, by a decree of February 17, 1767, ordered all the Jesuits in his kingdom to be banished. This command was executed with cruel rigor; sickness, infirmity, sudden indisposition, formed no excuse. It was an act of savage barbarity unworthy of civilized nations; and armed force obeyed, as though ordered to rush with fury on foreigners condemned to exile for crimes.

By a letter of March 31, the king informed the pontiff, declaring that he had been compelled to act thus for the good of religion, the advantage of his people, the preservation of his life, and the peace of his realms. He added that, to save the apostolic chamber from expense in supporting these individuals whom he sent to the Father and minister of all the faithful, a suitable pension should be given for life to each of these individuals.

At this announcement Clement was seized with shudders that he could not control, and he expressed his grief in a letter to the king. Among other things, he said that during the nine years of his pontificate he had suffered no anguish more bitter than that which now overwhelmed him. This expulsion of the Jesuits plunged him into despair, and he could not refrain from crying out as Cæsar did when struck

by Brutus, whom he had regarded as his son: "Thou, too, my son!" The pope added: "A Catholic king will then, by so bitter a chalice, bring down to the grave an aged pontiff, his tender Father! The arm which should annihilate the enemies of the Holy See will aid them in their project, and take arms with them to destroy a society useful to the Church, to God; a society instituted by Spanish saints to propagate his glory throughout the world. A Catholic king will deprive his people of all the advantages resulting from the sermons, missions, catechisms, spiritual exercises, administration of sacraments, and the best instruction of youth! A king who will not permit the meanest of his subjects to suffer punishment without being brought to trial, is about to exile a great number of ecclesiastics consecrated to God and the commonwealth, without citing them, without hearing them, without allowing them to defend themselves. Is it not trampling under foot their right to maintain their reputation, to preserve their property, and to live freely in their native land?

"The assemblage of priests is surely innocent, as well as their whole institute, and he swears it before God and before man. The king must reflect then on the loss of his soul, his soul which he loves above all, reflect on the miseries which this expulsion will entail on the souls of his subjects, deprived of such courageous workmen.

"The pontiff presents to the king, not the entreaties of his queen—for from heaven, where he believes her reigning, that princess, from her affection to the Jesuits, must address her spouse ardent prayers—but the prayers of Christ himself and the Church, his spouse, which will never behold without bitter grief the abolition of the institute of Saint Ignatius." By his whitened head he besought the king to revoke the edict, since, as long as virtue shall be honored, all men will praise and exalt Ahasuerus, who revoked, at the en-

treaty of Queen Esther, the edict published against the Jews.

"The pope exhorts the king to prove his equity, his love of truth, that the shades of so much misery may be scattered. Let the king hear his bishops, good men, his own conscience: he will find that the punishment inflicted on the society is utterly unjust."

Thus did the afflicted pontiff address the Catholic king. That prince had upright intentions; but he was misled by some of his ministers, who were in the cabal formed in France. The Revolution which subsequently broke out there would not have come had not the innovators first abolished the Jesuits, whom the authors of the Revolution regarded as an obstacle to their designs.

King Charles III, plunged in his error, replied to the pope's letter on the 2d of May. He was affected by the affliction the pope felt at the expulsion of the Jesuits; but he complained still more that His Holiness would not believe that Spain had just motives for following this course. At the same time the king explained none of these motives, nor did he subsequently give any valid reason to justify this action.

After this expulsion from Spain, the king ordered his son, the King of Naples, to expel those religious from the Two Sicilies also. This was done on the 3d of November. They were all escorted by troops to the frontiers of the Ecclesiastical States.

Clement was deeply moved by this new affront, and wrote to the king, complaining that he violated the rights of the pontifical principality by this violent aggression. In fact, the pope deemed it a duty not to receive these religious; but they were introduced by force, and his rights were thus invaded.

These protests and others of the good pope were un-

heeded; the more the Holy See sought to support the Jesuits, the more their destruction was sought.

The conduct of the King of Naples, who acted at the instigation of his father, seemed to Clement a manifest insult. Monsignor San Severino was ordered to leave Naples and retire to his diocese; but that prelate was retained on the pretext that he had been appointed confessor to the king. Moreover, the king sent a force against Benevento, and conveyed to the mint the church plate and precious metals belonging to the suppressed houses of the society.

Meanwhile Clement applied on all sides to the most powerful intercessors, and awaited the success of his constant prayers and supplications.

Proceedings for a canonization had been begun; it was proposed to the pope to interrupt them. He replied that the Holy See could not postpone any of its duties. Then six saints were solemnly canonized.

(1) John Cantius, a Polish priest, born in Cracow of a very noble family on the 24th of June, 1406. He was appointed professor of theology in the academy of Cracow, and died December 24, 1473. Ever since, each new dean of philosophy, when he takes the oath in that university, is invested with his red robe, known as the reverenda; and each professor, in imitation of the saint, daily receives a poor man at his table.

The process for his canonization was sent to Urban VIII, who submitted it for examination to the Congregation of Rites. It was not spoken of again till 1666. Then Alexander VII ordered it to be resumed. Clement X approved, in 1675, the immemorial cultus of the saint, and beatified him without ceremonies (equipollent). In 1680 Innocent XI permitted the memory of Blessed John to be celebrated every year with office and Mass double. In 1767 Clement XIII

approved five miracles of the Blessed John, and on the 2d of February, in the same year, decreed that they might proceed to his canonization, and actually proceeded. Clement XIV subsequently, by decree of September 8, 1770, granted the office and Mass to the whole Church, with the rite semi-double. Then Pope Pius VI, by decree of February 25, 1784, made it a double rite.

The second saint canonized by Clement XIII was Saint Joseph Calasanctius, a noble Aragonese of Peralta, in the diocese of Urgel, born September 11, 1556, founder of the Pious Schools, of which he took the habit March 15, 1616.

The third saint canonized was Saint Joseph of Copertino, a fief in the diocese of Nardo, near Otranto, born in a low condition, June 17, 1603; a lay brother among the Capuchins in 1620, dismissed by them after eight months' trial; then a lay tertiary among the Conventual Franciscans; admitted at last to the priesthood, June 19, 1625, among the Professed Clerks. Clement XI, by a decree of July 10, 1711, permitted Saint Joseph to be beatified, although he had not been dead fifty years, as prescribed by Urban VIII. Clement XII approved the virtues in the heroic degree on the 15th of August, 1735. Benedict XIV approved the miracles on the 19th of September, 1752, and beatified him on the 24th of February, 1753. The office of the Blessed Joseph was then allowed to the Conventuals, the Capuchins, whose habit he had borne for a time, the Observantines, and other branches.

Clement XIV, by a decree of August 8, 1769, approved the proper office, and prescribed the Mass on the double rite for the whole Church.

The fourth saint was Jerome Miani, a Venetian senator, born in 1481. He founded the order of Regular Clerks of Somascho, in which, from humility, he would not receive the

dignity of the priesthood. He died February 8, 1537, aged fifty-six.

The Congregation of Rites, by a decree of August 15, 1736, approved the virtues of the saint in the heroic degree. Benedict XIV approved two miracles by a decree of April 23, 1747, and on the 29th of September solemnly beatified him. Clement XIII, by a decree of May 25, 1766, approved two other miracles wrought after the beatification. The feast was celebrated July 20.

The fifth saint in this canonization was Saint Seraphin of Ascoli, so called from his long residence in that city, born of very poor parents at Montegranaro, in the diocese of Fermo. He was a Capuchin lay brother, having taken the habit at Jesi in 1564, and died October 12, 1604. Paul V verbally permitted, in 1610, a lighted lamp to be placed before the body of the servant of God. Urban VIII, in 1625, confirmed the usage at the request of Donato, Bishop of Ascoli. Clement XI beatified Seraphin equipollenter, and confirmed a decree of the Congregation of Rites granting immemorial cultus. Benedict XIII, by a decree of July 18, 1729, permitted the whole Franciscan order to celebrate the office and Mass double on the 12th of October, the anniversary of the saint's death; moreover, Clement XIII, by a decree of September 24, 1763, approved new miracles proven by an investigation of the ordinary. On his canonization the guild of master masons took this saint as their protector, because he had worked at their trade before he took the religious habit.

The sixth canonization was that of Saint Jane Fremyot, Baroness de Chantal, born at Dijon, January 23, 1572, married in 1593 to Christopher de Rabutin, Baron de Chantal, widow in 1602, and in 1610 foundress, under the direction of Saint Francis de Sales, of the Nuns of the Visitation.

This order soon had sixty-seven monasteries, which in-

creased so rapidly that by the end of the century they numbered one hundred and fifty, with six thousand six hundred religious. Saint Jane Frances died at Moulins, December 13, 1641. Benedict XIV beatified her November 21, 1751, and permitted the office and Mass to be celebrated throughout the Visitation order, at Dijon, her birthplace, and at Annecy, where her body is preserved. Clement XIII, by a decree of March 9, 1766, approved two miracles; and Clement XIV assigned the office and Mass of this saint to the 21st of August for the whole Church.

While treating of this subject, we will mention the various solemn beatifications that took place during the reign of Clement XIII.

On the 20th of September, 1761, he beatified Gregory Barbadigo, as already related. On the 19th of March, 1766, took place the solemn beatification of Simon Boxas, born at Toledo, in Spain, religious of the order of the Most Holy Trinity for the Redemption of Captives. The celebration of the office and Mass was permitted in all the Trinitarian convents, as well as at Valladolid and at Madrid, whither Philip III had summoned Blessed Simon to have the aid of his counsels and prayers.

On the 15th of May, 1768, the pope beatified Bernard, a Sicilian and Capuchin lay brother, permitting his office and Mass in his order on the 24th of January as a double; and also at Carleone, where he was born, and at Palermo, where his body reposes.

From the solemn beatifications we pass to the equipollent beatifications. Clement, by a decree of July 11, 1759, approved the immemorial cultus of Blessed Augustus Novello, Andrew Turriani, and Anthony della Mandola, hermits of the order of Saint Augustine.

By a decree of April 15, 1760, Clement XIII approved the

immemorial cultus of Sebastian Maggi, of the order of Saint Dominic.

In 1761 the cultus of James Philip Bertoni, a Servite, was approved; this was followed at various dates by the beatifications of Augustus Mezringhi, Carmelite of the ancient observance; Andrew de Montereale, hermit of Saint Augustine; John Marignoni, a Venetian, one of the companions of Saint Cajetan in founding the Theatines; the Blessed Benvenuta Bajani, of Udine, of the third order of Saint Dominic.

Novaes mentions also equipollent beatifications of Mattia de Nazariis, abbess of the Poor Clares of Saint Magdalen of Matelica; Elizabeth Achin, called the Good, Franciscan tertiary at Revo, in the diocese of Constance; and of Angela Merici, of Desenzano.

At that time Mary Josephine, Archduchess of Austria (sister of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, Queen of France), was about to cross the Pontifical States to become the queen of Ferdinand IV, King of Naples. To felicitate and receive her as queen at the frontier of the Roman States, Clement despatched Monsignor Bartholomew Millo, domestic prelate, who on this occasion received the title of nuncio apostolic. This princess, who was only seventeen, was continuing her journey pleasantly, when she fell sick, and after a few days' illness expired. The two courts agreed that another archduchess should set out to espouse the king, and Mary Caroline came to Rome, May 8, 1768, to proceed to her new capital.

This same year the Infante Ferdinand, Duke of Parma, having, after the example of Portugal, France, and Spain, ordered the expulsion of the Jesuits, added to this measure, so painful to the heart of Clement, orders to execute rigorously a restrictive edict of his father, the late duke. These commands infringed ecclesiastical immunities and

episcopal authority; and men deplored these threatening edicts, especially in a country which the Holy See claimed by legitimate right.

Clement annulled the edict, published, he said, in his duchy of Parma by an illegal secular authority; and by virtue of the sacred canons, the decrees of the general councils, and the apostolic constitutions, especially the bull In cœna Domini, he declared that the authors of the edict, and all who took part in its execution, should incur censures if they did not retract it. The bishops of Parma, Piacenza, and Borgo San Donnino were urged not to permit the execution of the censured acts. The Duke of Parma appealed for support to the courts of his family. They declared the bull Alias apostolatus null, because it had not been received by the crowns of France and Spain. They maintained that the brief invaded the rights of sovereigns, and to prevent the pope from issuing further bulls against Parma, they renewed their demands for the abolition of the Jesuits. At Paris, and especially at Naples, no effort was spared to create new troubles for the Holy Father.

Ere long a corps of French troops, with a president of Parliament from Provence, and eight counsellors, advanced to take possession of Avignon and Carpentras, in the county Venaissin, where the Jesuits were still in possession of their property and houses.

The Holy See had possessed Avignon for four centuries. Clement VI had purchased it for eighty thousand gold florins from Jane I, of Anjou, Queen of Naples and Countess of Provence. The sale was ratified by the king her husband, and by the Emperor Charles IV. The latter exempted the State from all subjection to the empire, on which Provence depended, because it formed part of the ancient kingdom of Arles. The monarchs of France had always recognized the

independence of the popes in this territory, although Louis XIV, at the time of his quarrels with the Holy See, seized Avignon in 1682, and did not restore it till 1690.

While France was pursuing this high-handed course, the Neapolitan troops seized Ponte Corvo, a pontifical fief on the frontiers of the Roman State, and the duchy of Benevento, which was encircled by the kingdom of Naples—both possessions which had been enjoyed by the Holy See from 1052, under the reign of Saint Leo IX.

Still, all these insults failed to force Clement to decree the suppression of the Society of Jesus.

The reply of Clement was based in part on the authority of the bull In cœna Domini. The Count de Firmian, governor of Milan, whom the discussion did not concern, interfered throughout; and in the emperor's name he notified all the bishops of the duchy, on the 19th of October, not in future to regard the bull, and to take down copies wherever they were set up. It was thus almost absolutely suppressed in the Milanese as it had been in Portugal by Pombal, and as it was soon to be suppressed in the Venetian States.

Cardinal Pozzobonelli, Archbishop of Milan, and Cardinal Durini, Bishop of Pavia, presented to Firmian respectful remonstrances for the emperor, and declared that the imperial minister must treat with Rome, as they could satisfy him as far as they were concerned. The bull In cœna Domini had been renewed by a successor of Saint Peter, venerated on the altars, by the great Saint Pius V. In this very duchy it had been repeatedly published by Saint Charles Borromeo, another canonized saint. Since that time it had been executed in the dioceses where it was received; it was not in the power of the present prelates, said the two cardinals, to suppress and abolish a bull, in view of the veneration which all the faithful owe to the successor of Peter, the visible head

of the Church. These replies arrested at the time the action of Firmian; but, notwithstanding this success, the efforts might be resumed at Milan. Clement addressed a letter full of affectionate entreaty to the Empress Maria Teresa, beseeching her intervention with the house of Bourbon to terminate a difference so cruel and afflicting in its results. She replied on the 2d of August, expressing her readiness to employ her good offices in maintaining peace if religion was threatened; but the cabinet of Vienna saw no danger to religion, as it was a mere contest for the principality, on which each is his own judge. Other princes could not pass upon such questions; the court of Vienna did not see, therefore, how it could in this assist and serve the Holy Father.

At this time M. d'Aubeterre, the French ambassador at Rome, urged his government to send troops from Corsica and occupy the banks of the Tiber; but Choiseul, with all his hatred of religion, hesitated to attempt the abolition of the Jesuits in this way. "I doubt," he writes, "whether the king would be disposed to take such extreme measures."

On the 7th of September, in the same year, the Venetian senate passed a law prescribing, among other things, that bishops in the States of the republic should have right of visitation over the churches and houses of regulars; that, notwithstanding contrary usage, no religious orders from other countries should be admitted; superiors of religious houses could no longer sue or condemn their subjects without recurring to secular tribunals. No one was to be permitted to take the religious habit before the age of twenty, or make profession before twenty-five, and all who made profession must be subjects of the republic.

On the promulgation of this law, the bishops were ordered to proceed to visit every religious house in their dioceses. Some prelates obeyed; but Cardinal Molino, Bishop

of Brescia, declared that he could not execute this command without the permission of the pontiff. His Eminence frankly declared that, without prejudice to the duty he owed his own prince, the republic, he believed that in such matters the supreme authority belonged to the Holy See. The senate merely renewed its order, and the cardinal persisted, but on being summoned to the capital he repaired to Ferrara, and his revenues were sequestrated.

Clement addressed a letter to all the bishops, explaining his intentions in this matter. The law of the senate tended to destroy the authority which the Holy See exercises over regulars. If the edict sought to restore discipline, it was notorious how much mischief had been done by lay intrusion in the administration of regular establishments. The constitution explained the authority of bishops, and detailed the exemptions granted by the fifth General Council of Lateran, in the time of Leo X. Bishops, therefore, could not avail themselves of the authority offered by the republic, but must confine themselves to that given by the Council of Trent, to which all owed veneration and obedience.

We now reach the close of the pontificate of Clement XIII. He was more than ever pursued by the three courts. Cardinal Orsini, ambassador from Naples, Count d'Aubeterre, ambassador from France, and Azpura, chargé d'affaires for Spain, most importunately urged the abolition of the Society of Jesus. Having received orders to employ the most efficacious means to obtain their request, they solicited a collective audience to present themselves to the pope at once, to request the abolition which they were to obtain at any price. A master of ceremonies saved the pope from an audience dangerous to his actual condition, his malady, a pulmonary disease, requiring him to refrain from all violent conversation. He laid before His Holiness a memoir giving

precedents for such an audience, but explaining that, according to usage, once in presence of the Holy See, Prince Orsini, cardinal, would be led to a seat, Count d'Aubeterre remain standing, and the Spanish chargé remain kneeling, during the whole audience. The envoys did not press for such an audience.

With the beginning of 1769 Clement experienced spasms and a violent cough; he was compelled to keep his bed, and gave up all affairs. On the 2d of February suffocation became so frequent that, during the night between that day and the 3d, he expired, aged seventy-five years, ten months, and twenty-six days.

Good, pious, mild, and facile, Clement attacked none, and was obstinately assailed by almost the whole of Europe. He resisted courageously. He repeated the noble words of Osius, Bishop of Cordova, to the Emperor Constans II: "God has confided the empire to you; to us, ecclesiastical things. Whoever of us should wrest the empire from you, would disobey God who rules; fear then to commit a great crime by usurping ecclesiastical things."

A strong element of religion and goodness, a beneficent disposition, an unalterable meekness, love for the poor, entitled Clement to the regret of his subjects, and the veneration of even the enemies of the Holy See. "Good citizens," said Count d'Albon, "cannot utter the name of Clement XIII without emotion. He was truly a father to his people; their happiness was above all things dear to his heart, and he labored earnestly for it. His most touching grief, affecting him even to tears, was the sight of misery that he could not relieve."

De Lalande cites an instance showing how little vanity or any desire for human applause entered into his projects. "The pope," says he, "speaking of the drying of the Pontine

marshes, personally desired it. When I explained this part of my journey to His Holiness, he manifested a marked interest, and eagerly asked me what I thought of its possibility and advantages. I exposed my views at length, but having taken the liberty to add that it would be a glory to his reign, the pious pontiff interrupted me, and raising his hands towards heaven, said, almost with tears in his eyes: 'We seek not our own glory, but the good of our people.' "

A tomb by Canova was erected to this pope by his nephew, Senator Rezzonico. It is in the transverse nave to the right of the great cross in Saint Peter's, and is highly esteemed. It represents the pope kneeling at prayer. On the left, Religion, more than life-size, holds a cross of gilt metal. On the right, a genius, seated, leaning on an urn, holds a torch in the right hand. Charity and Fortitude, life-size, are seated near the urn; and then two lions couchant, one sleeping, on pedestals. Canova wished by these to typify the character of Clement XIII. The sleeping lion is the symbol of meekness, roused by no insult that it can bear without detriment to duty; the lion fully awake is the symbol of the pope's courage when, assailed on all sides by those who would extort from him the abolition of the Jesuits, he resisted their violence, though enfeebled by disease and in constant pain.

The Holy See was vacant three months and sixteen days.

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CLEMENT XIV—A.D. 1769

CLEMENT XIV, whose baptismal name was Giovanni Vincenzo Antonio, in religion Lorenzo, was born on the 31st of October, 1705, at Sant' Arcangelo, near Rimini, son of Lorenzo Ganganelli, a physician, and Angela Serafina de Maziis, of Pesaro. Ruin, caused by the loss of a lawsuit, brought Ganganelli to the grave, leaving his son destitute; and Giovanni Vincenzo Antonio was indebted to Count Barnaldi for his earlier education. At eighteen he took the habit as a Conventual Franciscan in the convent of Mondaino. Friends had advised him to become a Jesuit, but he replied that God called upon him to wear the habit of Saint Francis. From Urbino he went to Pesaro, Recanati, Fano, and Rome, to study philosophy and theology. At Rome his director was Father Angelo Sandreani, and his master of novices Father Anthony Lucci.

Cardinal Albani, protector of the college of Saint Bonaventure at Rome, on the recommendation of a Jesuit, gave the office of tutor in that college to Ganganelli, after he had taught at Ascoli, Milan, and Bologna. The pope included him in the promotion of the 24th of September, 1759. The new cardinal continued to reside in the convent of this order, known as the convent of the Holy Apostles.

After the obsequies of Clement XIII, preparations were made for the impending conclave, to which, on the 15th of February, 1769, twenty-seven cardinals repaired. On the 30th of April forty-six members were in conclave. The Sacred College at that time consisted of fifty-seven cardinals; but, from various causes, eleven were unable to be present.

Soon after, Rome was visited by Peter Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, who lodged in the Medici villa. Nine days later a simple post-chaise conveyed into the Eternal City the Emperor Joseph II, without any suite, and travelling under the title of Count of Falkenstein.

It is related that, as the door of the conclave was opened, the emperor stepped farther in than was allowed by etiquette, and Cardinal Albani laughingly said: "As Your Imperial Majesty has broken the cloister thus far, pray deign to enter," and the cardinal introduced both the emperor and Leopold. The emperor, surprised as well as gratified by so unexpected an invitation, said: "In that case I will lay aside my sword." "No," replied Cardinal Serbelloni; "Your Majesty must keep it for our protection." The two princes then inquired minutely into the customs of conclaves, and appeared to be much interested in all that they witnessed. But they did not enter the chapel of the votes.

At first a considerable party was in favor of Cardinal Chigi, great-nephew of Alexander VII. He barely wanted two of the thirty-one votes which would have elected him, but suddenly the aspect of affairs was changed, and the Chigi party was much weakened. Ganganelli was the only member of any religious order present in the conclave. At that time religious of every order were harassed in almost all kingdoms and persecuted in not a few. Hence it was not anticipated that the preference could possibly fall upon one of them. Yet so it was to be.

The conclave opened on the 15th of February, and the Catholic world is scandalized at the exposure that has been made of the intrigues of the representatives of the courts of the house of Bourbon. The Emperor of Germany and Grand Duke of Tuscany had, as we have seen, been for a time actually present in Rome, and in the very hall of the conclave;

but the emperor, having no object in view, seems to have been no party to the intrigues. The house of Bourbon arrayed itself against the good of the Church, and sought to control the action of the papacy.

Cardinal Cavalchini was the next one proposed in the conclave, but he was excluded by France.

The Bourbon courts even sought to bind the cardinals by a promise that, if elected, they would suppress the Society of Jesus. After Cardinal Cavalchini, Cardinals Fantuzzi, Colonna, Stoppani, Pozzobonelli were successively proposed. Fantuzzi and Colonna, who had the greatest number of votes, were absolutely rejected by the Bourbonists. Pozzobonelli was favored by the Emperor of Germany; but, though he had many votes, they contrived to defeat him. Indeed, the number of candidates excluded by the Bourbon influence was so great that there was an actual danger of seeing the conclave break up without an election, and the cardinals protested against the violence used to control their action.

At last Cardinal Ganganelli was proposed. The Bourbons made no objection; he was highly esteemed by many of his fellow-cardinals, and all were anxious to bring the tedious conclave to a close, many having actually fallen ill during its protracted sessions. At last, on the 19th of May, Cardinal Ganganelli was elected, and on the ballot received all the votes.

The new pope at last named, the guns of the Castle of Sant' Angelo announced the new pontificate. The election being completed, Cavalchini, the dean of the Sacred College, asked Ganganelli if he would accept the pontifical dignity. The cardinal replied: "It should be neither desired nor refused." He was then asked what name he would take. He had thought of taking the name of Sixtus VI, in memory of Sixtus V, who, like himself, was a Conventual; but in

memory of his benefactor, Clement XIII, he took that name. Subsequently, after the adoration, he was asked if he was fatigued; and he replied that he had never witnessed that ceremony so conveniently, having been driven away by the Swiss Guard when, as a simple friar, he endeavored to witness the installation of his predecessor.

Clement was urged to send a courier with the news of his elevation to his three sisters, one of whom was married at Pesaro to a gentleman of the Tebaldi family, another to Fabrio de Verucchio, and the third a nun at Fossombrone. But the pope confined himself to writing to them by post, and said that, as they "were not accustomed to receiving ambassadors, the arrival of a courier would only disturb them." In the funeral oration over this pontiff, his reply is somewhat differently given. In this latter account he is represented as saying: "We have no other family than the poor, and they will know the news without the aid of couriers."

On the 28th of May the pope was consecrated bishop in the Vatican Basilica by Cardinal Lante, subdean of the Sacred College; the dean, Cardinal Cavalchini, not venturing on so fatiguing a ceremony, on account of his great age. Such a ceremony had not been witnessed since November 30, 1700, Clement's predecessors, Innocent XIII, Benedict XIII, Clement XII, Benedict XIV, and Clement XIII, having been bishops when elected pontiffs. On the 4th of June Clement was crowned by Cardinal Alexander Albani, first deacon. It is said that, on coming to the ceremony of the tow, it was slow to light, being somewhat damp, and that the pope saw it with pleasure, apparently accepting the fact as a good omen that his pontificate would be long.

On the 26th of November the Holy Father took possession of Saint John Lateran. He was accompanied by fifteen cardinals on horseback. On descending from the Capitol to-

wards the Campo Vaccino, the horse on which Clement was mounted, being mismanaged by those who held the bridle, and frightened by the acclamations of the populace, threw the pope to the ground. Clement, however, was not hurt, the road being covered with sand, and he exclaimed: "There is no contusion, only a little confusion."

Subsequently, speaking of that occurrence, he said: "Going up to the Capitol, we appeared like Saint Peter; being thrown from our horse, pray Heaven we become not like Saint Paul." Clement sent a letter, in his own handwriting, to all the sovereigns to announce his exaltation. In his letter to the King of Naples, dated May 30, he said: "We could not earlier write to Your Majesty, because not having been consecrated, as we had to make a retreat of nine days to prepare for so sublime an office. We were not forgetful of Your Majesty, however; we said a Mass to obtain from God that you may be rejoiced by the birth of an heir to the throne. We implore for the government of the Church the aid of Your Majesty, and we hope to obtain it from your royal piety, as Cardinal Orsini, your minister to the Holy See, can assure you. In return, we promise, as far as in us lies, to give Your Majesty proofs of our paternal love."

On the 12th of June the consistory was assembled in which the pope was to return thanks to the cardinals. He then proposed various episcopal churches, and he took the oath to observe some apostolical constitutions.

On the 18th of the same month the pope gave audience to Count Ernest de Kaunitz-Rittberg, ambassador extraordinary from the Emperor Joseph II to the conclave that elected Clement XIV. The pope then presented to His Excellency the body of Saint Clement the martyr, and also a picture in tapestry work of Saint Peter, and two trays full of Agni Dei.

On the 21st of June Count Kaunitz-Rittberg had another audience as ambassador of the Queen of Hungary, mother of Joseph II, and received the body of Saint Candida, virgin, with other presents, as before.

On the 22d of July, 1769, the ministers of Spain, France, and Naples presented to the pope a memorial in which they solicited the entire abolition of the Society of Jesus; and every exertion was made to force him to that step, which seemed the highest earthly good to these courts.

By a brief of the 12th of July the Holy Father granted some indulgences to the Jesuit missionaries in parts where there were no missionaries of the Propaganda. That brief was denounced by the treasury of Spain as obreptive and subreptive, because it could be executed neither in Spain nor in any other country whence the Jesuits had been exiled, and because a brief could not be recognized in which powers were attributed to them. It is subreptive, said those brave jurisconsults, because the Jesuits can exercise no function in any country that is subject to the house of Bourbon. So they appeared to fancy that there were no States in the world but Spain, France, Naples, and the duchy of Parma. For that reason the brief did not obtain the royal exequatur at Madrid, where it was subsequently ordered that all copies of it should be confiscated and carried to the council.

Persons acquainted with the history of that period are aware that Clement XIV was elected pope in one of the stormiest of stormy times.

Portugal was greatly irritated against the Roman court, indeed at open rupture with it, because Clement XIII had not granted the satisfaction that Portugal had demanded. After the expulsion of the Jesuits, Portugal thought of substituting the authority of the patriarch for that of the sovereign pontiff, and to hold no further communication with the

Holy See. Father Pereira, of the Oratory, was a theologian of a peculiar nature, and he stimulated the Portuguese to that schismatic course.

Spain, desiring the abolition of the Jesuits at any cost, continually urged the Holy See, and Monino allowed it to be seen that some severe blow to the Roman court was contemplated, the most mortifying affronts being constantly offered.

France, for some time in possession of Avignon, and embittered by the rigor shown to the Duke of Parma, united with Spain in taking every opportunity to show at least the appearance of a keen resentment.

Naples, supported by the crowns of Spain and France, retained possession of Benevento and Ponte Corvo, and threatened to extend its usurpations beyond the pontifical frontier.

Parma, the cause of so many troubles, required a retractation from the pope himself, as a justice absolutely due.

Venice pretended to reform, on its own authority, the religious communities, without reference to or consultation with Rome.

Poland thought only of resisting the privileges of the nunciature, and thus diminishing the pontifical authority; not anticipating that she was speedily to be stripped of her own authority, and to see her territory divided among three neighboring monarchies.

In the midst of these tempests the pope wrote to the King of France. Knowing that the Bourbons would press him to comply with their urgent requests, he resolved to anticipate them.

In the first place, and as related to the Duke of Parma, he sent him the matrimonial dispensation he had solicited, and at the request of the king suspended the effect of the brief of

Clement XIII. With respect to the Jesuits, the pope said that he could neither blame nor abolish their society, which had been praised and confirmed by nineteen of his predecessors, whose names he could readily and proudly quote; and, finally, he gave as the supreme reason for his refusal that the Jesuits had been confirmed by the Council of Trent.

While the pope spoke thus, he also resolved to assemble a council in which everything should be justly examined, and the Jesuits have an opportunity of hearing and replying to the accusations made against them. The pope was required to act thus, his duty binding him to protect all the regular orders alike.

The pope added that the emperor, the King of Sardinia, and the King of Prussia had written to him in favor of the Jesuits; and thus if he were to abolish that order he would offend some princes as much as he would oblige others. In the third place, the pope declared that he was purely the administrator, and not the lord and owner of the possessions of the Church; and that, consequently, he could neither sell nor grant the States of Avignon and Benevento, because whatever he might do in that respect would quite justly be revoked by his successors. Thus he would only yield to force, to which, even if he had the power, he would not oppose force. Finally, the King of France was the Eldest Son of the Church, and the pope well knew the equity of that prince. Thus, both the pope and the king alone, without nuncios and without arbiters, ought to treat that business in which he, Clement, would do what was the most fitting.

At that time the Duke of Gloucester, brother of the King of England, visited Rome. Scarcely had he entered the Ecclesiastical State when he was met by persons of rank sent by the pope to welcome him to the capital; and, on his entering the city, the pope sent him presents and ordered that the

Church of Saint Peter should be illumined in his honor. The Duke of Cumberland, another brother of the king, had received no less honor when he travelled in Italy. These acts of courtesy made the English panegyrists of Ganganelli. George III wrote to the pope to thank him for the magnificent reception of his brothers; he begged the pope's acceptance of some presents, and even consented to receive His Holiness as mediator in some family differences that had sprung up between the king and the Duke of Cumberland.

Spain obstinately cherished its hatred of the Jesuits. They had ceased to exist in Spain or her States, but the cabinet of Madrid were unwilling that they should exist in other countries. That cabinet solicited the beatification of the venerable John de Palafox, Bishop of Osma, considering that, at the beatification of a prelate who had depicted the Jesuits in such fearful colors, the Fathers would be horrified and feel that as the most terrible blow that could fall upon them. But the pope did not pronounce in that case, and this Spain appeared to regard as a new offence.

We have now to speak of the promotions of cardinals made by Clement XIV.

In a consistory of the 18th of December, 1769, he created as cardinal in petto Paul de Carvaglio Mendoza, prelate of the patriarchate of Lisbon, president of the councils of the queen and of the senate, and brother of the famous prime minister of Portugal.

On the 2d of January, 1770, Clement, desiring to please France, and more especially to please the king's daughters, who were distinguished for so eminent a piety, gave a brief changing the patronal feast of the confraternity of Saint John Nepomucene from the 16th of May to the 16th of September.

That brief was for the use only of the confraternity founded at Versailles by Queen Maria Leczinska, wife of Louis XV.

Remembering the firmness of that courageous confessor to Queen Jane of Bohemia, we may readily conceive the attachment and veneration which all queens feel for Saint John Nepomucene.

On the 1st of March Clement condemned some irreligious books that were published in France.

One of those decrees was directed against The Abridgment of Fleury's Ecclesiastical History, which was attributed to the Abbé de Prades; another against the works of La Mettrie; and a third against those of Voltaire, who now occupied a very different place in the estimation of Clement XIV from that which he had held in the esteem of Benedict XIV. In this last decree seven works were named, written by Voltaire.

At this time Clement was alarmed about the Catholic interests, which were violently compromised in the States of the Grand Seignior.

Among the patriarchs of the East in the olden time was distinguished the patriarch of the Nestorians or Chaldeans, whose see was at Babylon, and afterwards at Nineveh, now called Mossoul. His jurisdiction included not only Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Persia, but extended into the Indies, chiefly on the coast of Malabar, where those who were called the Saint Thomas Christians were settled. Under the pontificate of Julius III a great number of Nestorians or Chaldeans were united to the Church of Rome, and that pontiff gave them, as Catholic patriarch, Simon Sulacha, a monk of Saint Pachomus, who was proclaimed in the consistory of the 9th of April, 1553. Simon fixed his abode in the city of Caramit or Diarbekir, situated upon the river Tigris, in

Mesopotamia. There he ordained archbishops, bishops, and priests, to render the requisite assistance to the native converts, and to celebrate the mysteries according to the national ritual. In consequence, the patriarchate of Babylon was divided into two parts, the one consisting of the Catholic Chaldees, and the other of Chaldee heretics, under the government of their old patriarch, residing in the environs of Mossoul.

The successors of Sulacha continued to reside at Diarbekir until the year 1581. Then Simon Denha, expelled by the heretic patriarch, retired to Acaria, a country included in Kurdistan, between the Turkish and the Persian frontiers. There the patriarchs of the orthodox have continued to reside to the present time. They remained in unity with the Roman Church until 1653. At Rome there are letters of obedience written to Innocent X by Mar Simon III. Subsequent to that date there are no documents to prove such a union, which leads to the belief that the patriarchs who were subsequently elected fell back into heresy, which is the more probable because, in 1681, Innocent XI created a third Chaldean patriarch to govern the clergy and people who remained faithful to the Holy See. The new patriarch resided at Diarbekir, as his successors did.

Nothing was said about the Patriarch of Kurdistan until 1770, when he abjured the errors of Nestorianism, and earnestly solicited Clement XIV for permission to return to the bosom of the Church, a fact which gave the most lively satisfaction to the Sacred College.

Here we shall give some particulars upon the tribunal of the sacred Rota. That tribunal was already in existence previous to the reign of John XXII, who reformed it, but did not institute it, as some have supposed. He called it the Rota (wheel), because each of the officers performed duty in

his turn. At first the tribunal consisted of fourteen members, but Sixtus V reduced the number to twelve.

The Rotal decisions are not, as many authors think, a settled judgment pronounced by the tribunal, but, as is observed by the judicious Cardinal de Luca, a collection of the motives upon which the prelates have given affirmative or negative votes; and those motives are taken from the various writings of the advocates, and from the curialia of the apparently gaining party, motives to which the prelates have adhered in their votes, and to which they sometimes add their own individual reflections.

This is commonly called a decision. It does not contain the sentence of the judges; on the contrary, it is so conceived that the litigants who have in some sort lost see only the reasons by which the prelates have been induced to vote against them, and then can furnish such a reply as may lead the prelates to revoke and reverse their decision.

In fact, it often happens that the prelates give in one Rota a favorable vote for one of the parties on account of the motives alleged in a decision, and that in another Rota, owing to new writings of the apparent losers, the same prelates declare for the opposite party, who, in that case, gains instead of losing. But even then nothing is yet finished.

When, in the trial of a cause, one party has in its favor several uniform decisions that have emanated from the judges, then the final sentence is arrived at, and that is the Rotal judgment.

This being settled in the first place, a distinction is to be made in the decisions between the substance and the accident. By the substance is understood the entirety or bulk of the motives by which the prelates have been convinced; and by the accident are understood the various incidental propositions which are added. Certainly it may happen that

the officer who draws up the solicited decision may place in it, as ornament or as mere surplusage, things which are less exact and which should not influence the tribunal.

In the second place, it follows, from what has been said, that even what may be called the substance of the decision is not a fixed, firm, settled sentiment, definitively pronounced by the tribunal, but an opinion that is proposed to the seeming losers that they may seek for any defect that it contains, if such there be; and that, if they discover such, they expose it to the court, and so reach the position technically termed recedendo a decisis.

The decisions are printed for distribution among the various curials, who know beforehand that many things are said in the decisions without regard to the customary limitations, for it would not be fitting to insert those limitations in the decisions. Undoubtedly, great praise is due to this very prudent method, employed by that tribunal that truth may be discovered and that exact justice may be done.

The Abbate Zaccaria thus expresses himself in his Anti-Febronius. He exerts himself in the defence of that august tribunal against the derision heaped upon it by the book of Febronius. That book turns the decisions into ridicule, which is misplaced and unjust.

The judge, in all countries, listens attentively, holds his judgment in suspense, and only favors a litigant in proportion as he produces valid and weighty arguments. Each party, after disposing of the arguments put forward by its opponent, develops its own, and often brings the judge, who, however, says nothing, to an opinion contrary to that which he had at first formed.

But, aside from the impropriety of the word, which might better be called first resolution—that is to say, an opinion formed on the first examination—we cannot, as Zaccaria

says, too warmly applaud that kind of friendly conversation which takes place between the judge and the client or his counsel.

"On such a day," says the judge, "you have both put forward your arguments; those of A or of B were the more convincing. Examine your documents again, and on another day either bring forward other and stronger arguments, or successfully oppose, if you can, those to which we now give, according to our customs, the title of decision.

"The first pleading was futile. He who has urged the most reasonable arguments was commended; you who lose, if we may call that losing, will not appear again unless with more powerful arguments."

Such is the tribunal of the Rota. He who enters that tribunal as a judge contracts an esprit de corps which immediately converts even a naturally inattentive man into a reflecting judge.

Each auditor or judge has a secretary, entitled segreto—secret or confidential. The very name indicates the strictness of the morals and habits of the incorruptible counsellor. He gives, in writing, to the auditor or judge to whom he is attached, an opinion; and that opinion is for the most part so well founded that the judge almost always adopts it.

Therefore it is that the tribunal of the Rota enjoys so great a reputation. In Roman society the auditors are called the twelve Solomons. That system has still another very advantageous result. A litigant is not instantly stricken down, as by a thunderbolt, by an unforeseen sentence. The possibility of losing the cause is perceived beforehand. Good advisers intervene, the opposing parties confer, and the compromises thus effected are better than those judgments in other countries where, to obtain all, many and precious advantages are lost,—and sometimes more useful than those

complete legal triumphs which often ruin an honest family, without greatly benefiting that which obtains the favorable judgment.

To return to Pope Clement XIV, all hope of preserving the Jesuits had vanished. The crowns had solicited from the Catholic courts, which had taken no part in intimidating the conclave, a consent which sooner or later would be granted.

On the 29th of January, 1771, the pope created as cardinal in petto Marius Mare-Foschi, a noble of Macerata, born on the 10th of September, 1714, secretary of the Propaganda. His nomination was published in the consistory of the 10th of September in the same year. In the second promotion, which took place on the 6th of August, the pope created John Cosmas da Cunha, born on the 27th of September, 1715, canon regular of Coimbra and Archbishop of Evora.

In the third promotion the pope created Scipio Borghese, of the family of the princes of Sulmona, born on the 1st of April, 1734, Bishop of Theodosia in partibus. Then John Baptist Rezzonico, born at Venice on the 1st of June, 1743, nephew of Pope Clement XIII.

Subsequently the pope raised to the cardinalate Anthony Casali, a Roman, born on the 25th of May, 1714, governor of Rome; and Pascal Aquaviva di Aragon, a noble Neapolitan, born at Naples in 1719, president of Urbino. We perceive that the pope's creations included Portuguese, Spaniards, and Neapolitans. It cannot be doubted, then, that the harshness of the proceedings of all the cabinets had yielded to hopes which filled all the friends of the Jesuits with gloomy forebodings.

Bernis, in a letter of the 7th of March, discloses some of the machinations against the Jesuits: "There are still some obstacles to be removed, as to the Jesuits, with respect to the courts of Vienna, Turin, and Poland, as well as Venice and

Genoa. When all these difficulties present themselves in a body to the mind of the pope, he becomes discouraged. We must, therefore, endeavor to draw out one by one the thorns that are strewed along his path, flatter him, assist him, and never dishearten him."

On the 24th of December, Choiseul presented his resignation as secretary of state in France; and the Duke de la Vrillière was appointed to sign until a successor to Choiseul should be appointed.

Was the disappearance of one of the agents of evil, who so sharply tormented the Holy See, to alleviate the situation of the pope? No; the remaining enemies would redouble their efforts, and mark the accession of the new French minister by acts of contempt and suspicion; and those acts would soon produce an accomplice more dangerous, by weakness, than Choiseul had been in his paroxysm of fury. Madrid, on the contrary, was incessant in evil.

In 1771 the King of Spain founded the order of the Immaculate Conception, also called the order of Charles III, to thank the Blessed Virgin for the happy birth of the Prince of Asturias. Clement, in two briefs, confirmed the order and approved its statutes. The Holy Father baptized the royal child, and there was distributed at Saint Peter's, in the following year, a medal representing, on the one side, Pope Clement, and, on the other, a female in royal garb presenting a child to the pope; on the reverse, the following words: "Deus nova fœdera sancit."

On the 17th of June, 1771, the pope made his sixth promotion of cardinals, and created, in petto, Anthony Eugene Visconti, born at Milan on the 28th of December, 1713, nuncio at Vienna, and Bernardine Giraud, a noble Roman, born at Rome on the 14th of July, 1727, nuncio at Paris from the year 1767. His elevation to the purple was not published

until 1773. This nomination was no favor to France. As nuncio at Paris, he was entitled to the hat after three years' nunciature, and had long been entitled to the high Roman reward. Clement had full confidence in Giraud, who was a man of great politeness, polished in manner, little given to contradiction; and, moreover, a true model of discretion, reserve, and prudent conduct.

In his seventh promotion Clement named, in petto, Innocent Conti, Roman, eldest son of the Duke of Poli and Guadagnolo, born at Rome on the 1st of February, 1731, nuncio at Lisbon.

In the eighth promotion France obtained the hat for Charles Anthony of La Roche Aymon, born in the diocese of Limoges, of an illustrious family, on the 17th of February, 1697, Archbishop of Rheims and grand almoner. He died at Paris in 1777, aged eighty-one years, after having long honored the episcopacy by his wisdom, uprightness, the purity of his morals, and all the information and accomplishments befitting his condition.

In 1772 there arrived at Rome, travelling under the incognito of the Countess of Brehna, the Princess Mary Waldbourg, of Bavaria, widow of the Elector of Saxony. Clement sent to meet her, at Civita Castellana, the Marquis Massimi, director-general of the post. When she entered Rome, on the 15th of April, she was complimented by the chamber-master of His Holiness, who admitted her to an audience and made her some rich presents.

To give that princess an idea of the pleasures of Rome, the pope ordered a horse-race. But the cares and attentions of the pope were not confined to such distinctions. He gave the princess the body of a saint, as richly ornamented as those which were given to the ambassadors of the great powers when they left Rome.

The Prince of Monaco had solicited the dispensation of some holidays of obligation, though with the obligation to hear Mass. That favor was obtained for the dominions of Austria, of the empire, of Spain, of Sardinia, and of Tuscany.

The pope granted to the Church of Saint Stephen del Cacco, at Rome, the faculty of erecting baptismal fonts.

The Holy Father delighted in protecting and patronizing the arts. At the Vatican he ordered the construction of the gallery of the great hall of Clement VIII, for the reception of the famous museum, which still remains there. When this sumptuous work was terminated, in 1772, this inscription was placed there: "Clement XIV, sovereign pontiff, a native of Vado, desiring to find fitting place for the monuments and other relics of the ancients which he purchased for the perfecting of the arts, restored the chambers of Innocent, which were falling into ruin, and extended them, in the year of grace 1772, and the third year of his pontificate."

This museum was at first called the Clementine Museum, and then the Pio-Clementine; at present it is generally, but improperly, called the Pio Museum. The name of the first founder is forgotten or ignored. It is true that the continuator or revivor added so much that the museum seems to be rather his work than that of his predecessor.

On the 14th of December, 1772, Clement made his ninth promotion of cardinals. He gave the purple to Leopold Ernest de Firmian, born at Trent on the 22d of September, 1708, Bishop of Passau.

Meantime Pombal had not ceased from his annoyances. The mines of Portugal furnished all the gold that was required to defray the expenses of seduction and corruption. Equal sacrifices were made in a neighboring court. But it seems to be well established that Pombal, forgetting that he

owed his first elevation to the Jesuits, expended in their destruction nearly half a million of dollars; or, according to some historians, a much larger sum.

Monino, Count of Florida Blanca, having arrived in Rome, incessantly harassed Clement. The ill-fated pontiff had now no refuge from the insulting letters and words of Florida Blanca. That minister was rather a vulture seeking its prey than a man acting like any other man. And, according to the satires of that time, his very features had assumed the cast of a wild beast.

"On one solitary occasion the unfortunate pontiff recovered, in the great indignation of his soul, a remnant of energy. On that occasion the Spanish plenipotentiary proposed that, in exchange for the bull suppressing the Jesuits, France and Naples were willing to restore to the Apostolic See the cities of Avignon and Benevento, which they had seized. Ganganelli remembered that he was the priest of that Saviour who drove the traders from the temple, and he exclaimed: 'Learn that a pope governs souls and does not make merchandise of them.' "

That instant of courage was remarked, but Florida Blanca soon renewed his insolence.

The system of attacks, of provocations, of arrogance, of contempt even for the Swiss, who were advised not to protect a bad master, became so public that there no longer existed any authority at Rome. It is true that Florida Blanca was not king in that city of sublime memories, but it is no less true that Clement was fast losing all appearance of pontifical authority.

We have now reached the moment when the Holy Father is about to suppress the Society of Jesus. This extraordinary step was not unexpected. The Jesuits had already received orders to leave the Roman College, where they had so long

educated the first nobility in Europe, as well as the clergy intended for the service of Saint John Lateran. Members of the same order had been discharged from the cathedral of Frascati, and from the Scotch College of Rome. Moreover, orders had been given that the apostolic chamber should no longer furnish to the expelled Portuguese Jesuits the eight thousand crowns that Clement XIII had granted for their support. The Duke d'Aiguillon was delighted that he was minister of foreign affairs. At first he endeavored to protect the Jesuits, with a view to please the king; afterwards he blindly travelled on the road traced out for him. The following is the brief issued for their extinction as a religious order:

"Our Lord and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace, predicted by the prophet, and, on coming into the world, announced by the angels to the shepherds, and which he himself testified before he ascended to heaven; addressing his disciples, to whom he left the means of reconciling all with God the Father; Jesus Christ, reconciling by the blood of his cross all that is on earth and in heaven, has vouchsafed to grant to the apostles the ministry of reconciliation, and has given unto them the words of that clemency. They have been charged with that duty by Christ, who is not the God of dissension, but the God of peace and love; they, therefore, should announce peace to all the universe; they should especially devote their care and their labors to the object of leading those that are born in Christ carefully to preserve the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. They are only one body and one spirit, because they have been called in a single hope of vocation, which they never attain, says Saint Gregory the Great, unless they hasten thither united in intention with their neighbor.

"This word of reconciliation, which has been divinely intrusted to us by a powerful action; and this ministry, which has been delivered to us, without our being endowed with the fitting merit, we remembered when we were raised to the chair of Saint Peter; we have kept it before our eyes day and night; we carry those duties deeply graven in our hearts; we employ all our strength in assiduously imploring the divine aid, that God may vouchsafe to send to us and to all the flock of the Lord thoughts and counsels conducive to peace, and strengthen us with sure and powerful means to obtain it.

"We well know that the divine will has placed us above nations and kingdoms; that cultivating the vineyard of Sabaoth, and preserving the edifice of the Christian religion, of which Christ is the corner-stone, we root up and destroy, pull down and scatter, and then build up and plant in that sacred vineyard. We have constantly lived in the sentiments we are about to express. In like manner, having in view the tranquillity of the Christian republic, we have felt that we ought to neglect nothing to reconcile things in building and planting, and be ever ready and disposed, when the chain of mutual charity requires it, to tear up and destroy even what is most pleasing and most dear to us, and what we can least spare, without experiencing great grief and pain.

"It must be explicitly admitted that, among the institutions which secure the welfare and happiness of the Catholic commonwealth, the first place belongs to the religious orders. In all ages it has been these that have furnished the most aid to the Universal Church of Christ, the most varied advantages, and who have shed most lustre on it. For this reason the Apostolic See has approved them, and has not only maintained them by its protection, but still further strengthened them by favors, exemptions, privileges, and faculties. With

these concessions the Holy See intended to excite their zeal, and influence them with strong desire to cultivate piety and religion, and, by both preaching and example, confirm in the right path the morals of the people, and never to lose sight of an opportunity to labor for the preservation of the unity of the faith.

"But when it has occurred that in some regular order there are not found, to the advantage of the Christian people, the abundant fruits and profits that are so ardently desired, and for obtaining which the orders were instituted, but that, far from that, they appear to have become a cause of prejudice and of disturbance to the tranquillity of the nations rather than a foundation fitted to establish that tranquillity; then that same Apostolic See which had consecrated its cares to plant them, and to that end had exerted its power, has not hesitated to impose new laws upon them, and to recall them to their original strictness of life, or to disperse them and uproot them from the land.

"For such cause it was that Pope Innocent III, our predecessor, perceiving that the excessive variety of the regular orders caused great confusion in the Church, ordered, when he presided over the fourth General Council of Lateran, that no new religious orders should be founded. Whoever wished to become a regular must enter one of the approved orders. Subsequently it was decreed that whoso desired to found a new order must adopt the rule of some institute already approved. Under this decree it was no longer allowable for any one to found a new order without the special authority of the Roman pontiff, which was just. In fact, when other congregations are instituted, with a view to greater perfection, the Holy Apostolic See should preliminarily examine into the proposed form of life, and define it most strictly, lest, under pretext of a great good and a more holy life, the

Church of God should be afflicted by many inconveniences, and perhaps even evils.

"Although Innocent III, our predecessor, had published those far-sighted constitutions, yet the importunity of petitioners not only extorted the approbation of some regular orders, but, further, the presumptuous rashness of some persons, especially if those bore a name of some mendicant order not yet approved, gave rise to an unbridled multitude. Such consequences being known, Pope Gregory X, also our predecessor, renewed, in the General Council of Lyons, the constitution of the said Pope Innocent III, and also strictly forbade that any one should found a new order or take the habit of one; and, finally, he prohibited in perpetuity, generally, all the religious orders of mendicants founded after the decree of the fourth General Council of Lateran, but not as yet confirmed by the Holy See. He directed confirmed orders to subsist in this way—namely, that the professed members should be permitted to remain in those orders if they chose, but not to admit new members to profession, acquire houses or other property, or alienate houses or other property, without the special permission of the said Holy See.

"The same pontiff declared that those various properties were at the disposal of the Holy See for the assistance of the Holy Sepulchre, or of the poor, or for the expenses of any other pious places of the bishops or those to whom the Holy See might commit the administration.

"He prohibited the members of such orders, as far as regarded strangers, from preaching, hearing confessions, or burying. He declared, nevertheless, that the Dominican and Franciscan orders were not included, because the evident benefits which they conferred on the Church rendered it necessary that they should be approved.

"He further decreed that the order of the Hermits of Saint Augustine and of the Carmelites should firmly retain their position, having been instituted prior to the General Council of Lateran.

"Finally, he granted to all members of orders which that constitution concerned, permission to pass into other approved orders; in such wise, nevertheless, that no order or convent should transmit or take to another's convent the entirety of its possessions, without the permission of the Holy See previously obtained.

"The holy Roman pontiffs, our predecessors, followed in the same track, and in accordance with the circumstances of the times. It would be too tedious to cite all their decrees here.

"But, among the pontiffs, Clement V, one of our predecessors, by his letters of the 2d of May, in the year of our Lord 1312, suppressed and totally extinguished the military order known as the Knights Templars, on account of its universal ill report; although that order had beforetime been legitimately confirmed, and had so well merited of the Christian republic that the Holy Apostolic See had loaded it with distinguished favors, privileges, faculties, exemptions, and authorizations; and notwithstanding that the General Council of Vienne, to which that pope had committed the task of examining into the charges against that order, had declared that it abstained from pronouncing a formal and definitive sentence.

"Pius V, of holy memory, equally our predecessor, whose distinguished sanctity the Catholic Church piously honors and venerates, extinguished and finally abolished the regular order of the Humiliati, founded before the Council of Lateran, and approved by the pontiffs of happy memory, our predecessors, Innocent III, Honorius III, Gregory IX, and

Nicholas V, because those religious had disobeyed the apostolic decrees, were given up to discords, both domestic and external, because they gave no visible sign of future virtue, and because many of them had wickedly compassed the death of Saint Charles Borromeo, cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, and apostolic visitor of the same order.

"Urban VIII, our predecessor, of pious memory, by letters in form of brief, on the 6th of February, 1626, perpetually suppressed and abolished the congregation of the Reformed Conventual Friars, who had been solemnly approved by our predecessor, Sixtus V, of happy memory, and enriched with favors and benefits, because no spiritual fruit profitable to the Church of God was borne by these religious. Moreover, differences had arisen between the reformed and the unreformed Conventuals. The same pope granted and assigned the goods, lands, convents, shares, rights, etc., of the said congregation, to the order of the Friars Minor Conventual of Saint Francis, exempting from such transfer the house of Naples, and the house of Saint Anthony of Padua, called de Urbe; which latter he gave and assigned to the apostolic chamber for the use of himself and his successors. Subsequently he permitted the members of the suppressed congregation to pass to the convents of the Capuchin Friars of Saint Francis, called of the Observance.

"The same Pope Urban, by other letters, also in the form of a brief, on the 2d of December; 1643, perpetually suppressed and extinguished the regular order of Saints Ambrose and Barnabas ad nemus. He subjected the suppressed brethren to the jurisdiction and correction of the ordinaries, at the same time that he granted to the said suppressed permission to enter other regular orders approved by the Apostolic See.

"Innocent X, our predecessor, confirmed that extinction

by his letters under the leaden seal (which has the heads of Saints Peter and Paul on one side, and the name of the reigning pope on the other), and dated on the 1st of April in the year of our Lord 1645. Subsequently he secularized the benefices, houses, and monasteries of the said order, which previously was regular, and declared that thenceforth they should be secular.

"The same Innocent, by letters in form of brief, dated 16th of March, 1645, considering the serious disturbances existing among the regulars of the Poor of the Mother of God, of the Pious Schools, although that order had been solemnly approved by Pope Gregory XV, ordered, after mature examination, that the said regular order should become a simple congregation without the taking of any vow, like the institute of the congregation of the secular priests of the Oratory, founded in the Church of Saint Mary in Vallicella de Urbe, called Saint Philip Neri; he then granted to the regulars of the said order, thus reduced, the right of passing into any other approved order. He forbade the further admission of novices, and the profession of those already admitted. Subsequently he transferred entirely to the ordinaries of the localities the jurisdiction which belonged to the minister-general, visitors, and other superiors.

"These decrees were enforced for some years, until the Holy See, recognizing the usefulness of the said order, recalled it to its pristine form of solemn vows, and reconstituted it as a perfect regular order.

"The same Innocent X, by his letters in form of brief of the 29th of October, 1650, to obviate discords and dissensions, totally suppressed the order of Saint Basil, of the Armenians. He subjected the regulars of the said order to the jurisdiction and obedience of the ordinaries, and commanded them to wear the habit of secular clerks. From the revenues of

the extinct convents a fitting allowance was assigned to each regular who was thus suppressed, giving them also power to pass to any other approved order.

"In like manner, Innocent X, by his other letters in the form of brief of the 22d of June, 1651, observing that no benefit to the Church was to be expected from the regular congregation of priests of the Good Jesus, extinguished the said congregation in perpetuity; subjected the said regulars to the jurisdiction of the ordinaries, and assigned them from their former revenues a fitting pension, with the faculty of passing into any other approved order, reserving the application of the property of the said congregation for the service of other pious works.

"Subsequently, Pope Clement IX, our predecessor, of happy memory, considering that three other regular orders, that of Saint George in Alga, that of the Hieronymites in Fiesole, and finally that of the Jesuats, founded by Saint John Columbini, were of little or no advantage to the needs of the Christian people, and that there seemed no hope of such advantages proceeding from those orders in the future, formed the project of suppressing and extinguishing them; and he executed that project by publishing his letters in the form of brief, dated 6th of December, 1668. Their property, then, which was very considerable, was claimed by the republic of Venice, and the pope ordered it to be employed in maintaining the war for the island of Crete, a war absolutely necessary to continue against the Turks.

"In those decrees and suppressions our predecessors acted with a view to finding sure means of taking away all fuel from contentions of spirit, and of destroying all difference and party feeling.

"Not being fettered by the restraint and the form of action

followed in discussions at the bar previous to judgment, attending solely to the prudence of the laws, and in virtue of the plenary power with which they were invested as vicars of Christ upon earth, and supreme regulators of the Christian republic, they so disposed affairs that the regular orders destined to be suppressed had full power to defend their rights. They were permitted to answer serious accusations, and to explain, extenuate, or excuse the facts which the form of procedure permitted to bring forward.

"After the example of those cases, and of others that have great weight and authority with all upon whom we cast our glance, and fervently desiring, as we shall hereafter declare, to proceed confidently and with firm footstep in our deliberation, we have omitted nothing and forgotten nothing that could enable us thoroughly to understand everything that concerns the regular order that is called the Society of Jesus. We have attentively observed its progress and its present condition. It has been proven to us that that order was instituted by its holy founder for the salvation of souls, the conversion of heretics, and especially of infidels, and for the greater increase of piety and religion. It was in order to obtain that greatly desired end that the order was consecrated to God by the strictest vow of evangelical poverty, both in general and in particular, except in what concerned colleges for study and literature. As to them, power and facility were given to possess, yet so that no portion of the income could be converted into an advantage, a utility, or any kind of convenience to the said society.

"That society was approved, with these laws and other very holy regulations, by our predecessor, Paul III, of happy memory. On that subject he published his letters sub plumbo, of the 27th of September in the year of our Lord 1540.

"The same pontiff granted to the society the right to draw up rules and statutes calculated firmly to secure the existence and the government of the society; and although the same Paul, our predecessor, had at first strictly limited the number of religious to sixty, yet by other letters, under the leaden seal, dated on the 28th of February in the year of our Lord 1543, he authorized the society to receive into its bosom all those whom its superiors might deem it fitting and necessary to receive.

"Then, in the year 1549, by letters of the 5th of November, the same Paul, our predecessor, granted many and very ample privileges to the same society, among others an indult empowering the generals of said society to admit twenty priests as spiritual coadjutors, who received the same faculties, favors, and authorities as were enjoyed by the professed. With respect to still others whom the generals should deem fit, the pope willed and ordered that their number might be extended without limit and without count. He, at the same time, enfranchised and exempted the entire society, all its members, their persons and their property, from all superiority, jurisdiction, and correction of all and any ordinary whatever, and commanded that all should remain under his protection and under that of the Holy See.

"Moreover, the liberality and the munificence of our other predecessors were not less generous with respect to the same society.

"It is an established truth that our predecessors of blessed memory, Julius III, Paul IV, Pius IV, Pius V, Gregory XIII, Sixtus V, Gregory XIV, Clement VIII, Leo XI, Paul V, Gregory XV, Urban VIII, and other pontiffs, confirmed all those privileges, and increased them by new concessions; and some of them openly declared, on this subject, their sentiments of approbation.

"However, the tenor of those constitutions, and the expressions employed in them, prove that almost from its birth the society saw dissension arise, and that the seeds of jealousy sprang up among members of the society, and even with other regular orders—the secular clergy, academies, universities, public literary gymnasia—and at length with the princes into whose States the society had been received. Differences also sprang up on the subject of the nature and character of the vows, of the times necessary to admit members to the vows, of the power to dismiss members or to raise them to holy orders without patrimony or without solemn vows, which is contrary to the decree of the Council of Trent and the holy memory of our predecessor, Pius V. Men spoke also of the absolute power which the general of the order arrogated to himself, and of other things concerning the government of the society, and also of divers points of doctrine, the schools, exemptions, and the privileges that the ordinaries and others in ecclesiastical or secular dignity deemed offensive to their jurisdiction and rights. Finally, serious charges were made to the not trifling disturbances of the peace and tranquillity of the Christian republic.

"Hence arose complaints against the society, which, supported by the authority of some sovereigns, were addressed to our predecessors, Paul IV, Pius V, and Sixtus V. Among the princes who supported such complaints was Philip II, of illustrious memory, Catholic King of Spain. He explained the serious reasons which led him to communicate to Sixtus V the complaints made by the Spanish inquisitors against the privileges of the society, and even heads of accusation that were approved by members of the society distinguished for their learning and piety. Philip then requested that commissaries be appointed for an apostolic visitation of the society.

"Sixtus V, attending to the action and request of Philip, chose for the duties of apostolic visitor a bishop commendable for his prudence, virtue, and learning, and instituted a congregation of cardinals of the Roman Church, who were directed to pursue the affair actively. But our predecessor, Sixtus V, having been suddenly stricken with death, the salutary project vanished and had no result.

"Pope Gregory XIV, of happy memory, being raised to the pontificate, published, under the leaden seal, his letters of the 28th of June, 1591, by which he very fully approved anew the institute of the society. He declared firm and solid the privileges granted to it by his predecessors, and especially that of dismissing and excluding the members without any judicial form, without the slightest inquiry, without the maintenance of any judicial order, without even the admission of any substantial terms. It sufficed to consider the truth of the fact, taking into consideration only the fault or other reasonable cause of exclusion, without examining persons or attendant circumstances.

"He enjoined complete silence on this question, and forbade all, on pain of excommunication, to venture to attack, either directly or indirectly, the institute, rules, or decrees of said society, or propose any alteration in its constitutions. However, he left to each the right to add to or to diminish the rules, provided that all who thought such addition or diminution necessary should address themselves to him alone, or his successor, pro tempore, either directly or through the medium of the nuncios or legates of the Apostolic See, to apply for his observations or propositions.

"But all these arrangements could not silence the cries that were raised against the society, nor still the charges that were made against it. Then, louder and louder, throughout the world were heard clamors against the society's doctrines,

which many believed to be contrary alike to the orthodox faith and to good morals. There were also, in the bosom of the order itself, domestic and external quarrels, which became more and more frequent. It was accused of excessive cupidity in the acquisition of lands. Thence arose disturbances, sufficiently known to all, which caused great grief and embarrassment to the Apostolic See, followed by the projects conceived by the princes against the society.

"Hence it happened that the same society, wishing to obtain the confirmation of its institute and its privileges from our predecessor, Paul V, of happy memory, was forced to solicit him to ratify, by his authority, some decrees passed in the fifth general congregation, and textually inserted in his letters given under the leaden seal on the eve of the 4th of September in the year of our Lord 1606. In those decrees it was expressly said that, on account of the internal dissensions of the society, and of complaints made by strangers against it, the society, assembled in general congregation, felt obliged to issue the following decree:

" 'As our society, which has been raised up by God for the propagation of the faith and the salvation of souls, can, by the proper ministry of the institute—that is, by the arms of the spirit—happily attain its end under the standard of the cross, for the advantage of the Church and the edification of our labors, it would itself oppose obstacles to all that is good and expose itself to the greatest dangers should it concern itself with secular things, which belong to politics and State government. Therefore, seeing that our welfare is in the cause of God, it was wisely decided by the Fathers of our society that we should not intermeddle in other interests that are foreign to our profession.

" 'In these perilous times it has happened in several places, and with divers princes whose love and benevolence our

Father Ignatius, of holy memory, recommended us to preserve, as rendering us agreeable to God, that, perhaps by the fault of some, their ambition or their indiscreet zeal, our order hears complaints raised against it, while the good odor of Christ is ever necessary to us. The congregation has considered that, in order to bear fruit, it behooves us to abstain from every kind of ill, meeting the complaints that are excited against us, although they originate in false suspicions. Therefore it is that by the present decree it is seriously and severely forbidden to all to interfere in any such things, even if called upon to do so; to fear all immixture and any departure from the rules of the institute. It commands, on this point, resistance to all entreaty and to all advice; and, in addition, it imposes on the Fathers definitors the duty of applying exactly, where need is, the remedy for this evil.'

"We have remarked with great grief that the above-named remedies, and others subsequently applied, had no power to dissipate and destroy the many troubles, accusations, and complaints against the above-mentioned society; and that our predecessors, Urban VIII, Clements IX, X, XI, and XII, Alexanders VII and VIII, Innocents X, XI, and XII, and Benedict XIV, in vain labored to that end. These pontiffs endeavored to restore to the Church her desired tranquillity by their several salutary constitutions, relative as well to so many secular interests which should not occupy the society in its missions, on account of those same missions, as to very serious dissensions, complaints occasioned by the members of the society with the ordinaries of various places, with the other regular orders, with various communities in Europe, Asia, and Africa, not without causing great loss of souls and causing great scandal to the nations.

"Then, with reference to the interpretation and use of many pagan rites, established by degrees in some countries,

omitting those which are justly approved in the Universal Church, or with reference to the interpretation and use that the Apostolic See has declared scandalous and manifestly prejudicial to good morals; finally, with reference to things of great importance, necessary to the preservation and the maintenance of the essence and purity of the Christian dogmas, things originating not only in our own but also in previous ages; prejudices, embarrassments, disturbances, tumults in some Catholic countries, persecutions of the Church in provinces of Asia and Europe, there has been reason to deplore immense sorrows caused to our predecessors, and especially to Pope Innocent XII.

"That pontiff was obliged to forbid the members of the Society of Jesus to receive novices and to give them the habit of the order. Still further, Innocent XIII was compelled to threaten the order with the same penalty; and, finally, Benedict XIV, of happy memory, ordered a visitation of the houses and colleges existing in the States of our dear son in Jesus Christ, the King of Portugal and of the Algarves.

"Still, the Holy See obtained from all its cares no consolation for itself, no help for the society, no benefit to the Christian republic, from the last apostolical letters given by Clement XIII, of happy memory; letters which, to use the words of our predecessor, Gregory X, pronounced in the abovementioned Œcumenical Council of Lyons, 'were extorted rather than obtained.' After so many violent and cruel storms and tempests, the good and faithful hoped for the dawn of the desired day of tranquillity and peace. But under the reign of the same Clement, seated in the chair of Saint Peter, times still more difficult and turbulent surrounded the same society; cries, complaints, and dangerous dissensions increased; and the Holy See had to deplore tumults, seditions, oppositions, and scandals. Those disturbances, amidst

the dissolution and entire annihilation of the bonds of charity, gave birth to discords, parties, hatreds, and violent enmities.

"The danger spread to such an extent that even those who loved the society with hereditary tenderness, and who had received from their ancestors a love which they unitedly confessed, even our dear sons in Jesus Christ, the kings of France, Spain, Portugal, and the Two Sicilies, were obliged to expel the society from their possessions, provinces, and kingdoms. They believed that there was but that one remedy for so many evils, desiring thus to prevent the Christian peoples from being reduced to attack, provoke, and tear each other.

"Our above-mentioned sons in Jesus Christ, being persuaded that that remedy would not be lasting and effectual in reconciling the Christian world, if the society itself were not entirely extinguished and totally suppressed, made our predecessor, Clement XIII, acquainted with their wishes and their will, and solicited it, adding to their request such authority as they might possess, that due forethought and efficacious action should thus provide for the safety of their subjects and the weal of the Universal Church.

"The death of that pontiff, which occurred contrary to the expectation of all, prevented the course and issue of that project.

"When, by the protection of the divine mercy, we were placed in the chair of Saint Peter, the same wishes, the same requests, the same demands were presented to us, and certain measures were added thereto. Several bishops, and other personages distinguished for their dignity, their knowledge, and their religion, manifested their opinion in the same sense.

"That we might act upon safe counsel in an affair so grave and of such lofty interest, we judged that much time would

be requisite, not only for exact inquiry, mature examination, and prudent deliberation, but also to ask aid from the Father of Light, with many sighs and with continual prayer. To that end we determined to have the aid of more frequent works of piety. We determined that there should be a close scrutiny into the state of the case, as to the foundation supporting the generally diffused opinion that the order of the Society of Jesus had been solemnly approved and confirmed by the Council of Trent. We found that that society was only mentioned in the Council of Trent in relation to the general decree affecting the other religious orders, and providing that, at the end of the novitiate, the novices, if they were deemed fit, should be admitted to profession, or otherwise sent from the monastery. Hence it was that that holy synod (session 25, chapter 16, de Regul.) declared that it would make no innovation, and that it would not prevent the religious of the said Society of Jesus from serving God and his Church according to their pious institute, approved by the Holy Apostolic See.

"After so many moderate measures, aided by the presence and inspiration of the Divine Spirit in which we confidently trust, and impelled by the necessity of our charge, we shall employ our strength as actively as we can to conciliate, smooth, and fortify the rest and tranquillity of the Christian republic, and to remove from it whatever tends to prejudice it. Now, we have perceived that the said Society of Jesus could no longer produce the abundant fruits and advantages for which it was instituted and was approved by so many of our predecessors, who bestowed upon it so many privileges, but, on the contrary, that if it existed it was almost impossible that the Church could have true and permanent peace. Led by such considerations, and urged by still other reasons supplied to us by the laws of prudence and the excellent rule

of the Universal Church, which are deeply graven in our heart; walking in the footsteps of our predecessors, and remembering the words of Gregory X, in the General Council of Lateran, as it at present concerns an order included in the number of the mendicant orders, its institution, and its privileges, we, after mature examination, of our own certain knowledge, and in the plenitude of the apostolic power, suppress and extinguish the said society. We take from it and abrogate each and all of its offices, ministries, administrations, houses, schools, and habitations, in all provinces, kingdoms, and States whatsoever, and under whatsoever title to them belonging; we suppress all its statutes, customs, decrees, and constitutions, even when fortified by oath, apostolic confirmation, or otherwise; each and all of its privileges, general or special indults, of which we will that the tenor be held fully expressed in these presents, as if they were here inserted word for word, notwithstanding all and every formulas and clauses which should be contrary thereto, and whatsoever the ties that bind them, and the decrees upon which they are supported. We declare, therefore, that it is perpetually broken up and dissolved, and absolutely extinguished alike as to the spiritual and as to the temporal, and as to all authority whatsoever of the minister-general, of the provincials, of the visitors, and of the other superiors of the society. And we wholly transfer that same jurisdiction and authority to the local ordinaries, according to the form, the case, and the persons.

"Under the conditions hereinafter explained, we prohibit henceforth the reception into the society, or the wearing of its habit, or entering into its novitiate, any person or persons whomsoever; nor shall any be admitted who have been designated to pronounce either the simple or solemn vows, under penalty of the nullity of such admission and such profession,

and of such other pains and penalties as we may deem fit to inflict. We further will and command and prescribe that those who are at present in their novitiate be immediately and effectually dismissed. We forbid that those who hitherto have pronounced only the simple vows, and are not yet initiated in any of the holy orders, be raised to superior grades under the pretext of a profession in the society, and of privileges granted to the society against the decrees of the Council of Trent.

"The end we aim at is, in the first place, to secure the advantage of the Church and the tranquillity of the nations; then to bring aid and consolation to each of the members of the Society of Jesus, whose persons we paternally love in the Lord, in order that henceforth, being delivered from all the pains which have tormented them, and from so many discords and contentions, they may the most fruitfully cultivate the vineyard of the Lord, and more abundantly work for the salvation of souls. In consequence, we decree and enjoin that the members who have been admitted only to simple vows, and are not yet initiated to the holy orders, be released from those vows on quitting the houses and colleges, to embrace such condition as each may choose as most befitting his vocation, his strength, and his conscience, within the time fixed by the local ordinaries to find a fitting place or office, or some generous man who will benevolently receive them. This time, however, must not exceed a year from the date of these presents; moreover, according to the privileges of the society itself, those members or novices could be thus dismissed without other reason than such as the superiors might deem sufficient; without other rule than prudence and the existing circumstances; without any citation, or the drawing up or preservation of any judicial document.

"As regards the members who have been promoted to sacred grades, we permit and empower them to quit the houses and colleges of the Society of Jesus, and enter into another regular order approved by the Holy See, in which to complete the period of probation prescribed by the Council of Trent, if they have already made in the society the profession of the simple vows. If, on the contrary, they have taken the solemn vows, their probation shall last only six months, according to the dispensation hereby granted, or they may remain in the world as priests and secular clerks, under the total and absolute obedience and authority of the ordinaries in the diocese in which they take up their abode. We further decree that, to those who shall thus remain, there shall be granted a fitting pension, to be paid from the revenues of the house or college to which they have belonged, until they can be otherwise provided for, due regard being had to the amount of the said revenues and of the charges upon them.

"As to the professed who are already admitted to holy orders, and who, whether from fear of not having sufficient resources, or from the failure or scantiness of their pensions, or from the impossibility of finding a place in which to fix their home, or on account of great age, feeble health, or any other true and serious cause, do not believe themselves able to leave the houses or colleges of the society, we permit them to remain there, on condition that they have no administration of the said house or college, and that they wear only the habit of regular clerks, and that they be entirely subject to the ordinary of the place.

"In the terms of the Council of Lyons, we forbid them to substitute any one instead of those wanting, newly to acquire any house or place whatever, or to alienate the houses and places which they actually possess. Nevertheless, they

may inhabit a house or houses, according to the number of those who shall be present, in such wise that the vacant houses can be devoted to pious uses, according to the sacred canons, to the will of the founders, to the increase of divine worship, to the salvation of souls, and to the public utility. However, a person of the secular clergy, known for his prudence and morals, shall be chosen, who will take the administration of the said houses; in which, moreover, the name 'Society of Jesus' shall be altogether extinguished and suppressed.

"We declare that the individuals of the said society of all the provinces from which they are already expelled are included in this general suppression of the society, and it is our will and command that those expelled members, even when they shall have been promoted to the major orders, unless they pass into another regular order, shall be deemed to have no other position than that of clerks and secular priests, totally subject to the local ordinaries.

"If the local ordinaries find the requisite virtue, knowledge, and morality in those who, from the Society of Jesus, have passed to the state of secular priests, those same ordinaries, by virtue of these presents, may, at their pleasure, grant to them the faculty of receiving the sacramental confessions of Christians, or preaching to them. But without such authorization, in writing, let none of them dare to exercise those functions.

"Nevertheless, the bishop and the local ordinaries shall never grant that faculty to the members who shall remain in the colleges and houses which formerly belonged to the Society of Jesus. We, in perpetuity, forbid them to administer the sacrament of penance to strangers or to preach, the same as our predecessor, Gregory X, forbade in the council above mentioned.

"On this subject we charge the conscience of the bishops themselves; and we desire them to bear in mind this strict prohibition. They will have to give an account to God of the care they shall have taken of their flocks, and they should reflect upon the stern judgment with which they are threatened by the Supreme Ruler.

"Further, if among the members of the society there shall be found some who have instructed youth in letters, or have exercised a ministry in some college or school, it is our will that, apart from any power of governing or administering, opportunity should be given to them to persevere in teaching, especially those who give hopes of making their labors successful, provided that they keep themselves aloof from those disputes and points of doctrine which have a tendency, whether from relaxation or from futility, to produce very serious dissensions and inconveniences; and in no wise shall that faculty be allowed to those, even if at present charged with the duty of teaching, who will not, as far as in them lies, preserve the peace of the schools and public tranquillity.

"As relates to the sacred missions, which we entirely include in the suppression of the society, we reserve it to ourself to take such measures as may most effectually bring about the conversion of the faithful and the appeasing of dissensions.

"Having, as aforesaid, broken up and entirely abrogated all the privileges of the said society, we declare that the members of the society, when they shall have left the colleges of the society, and shall have become secular clerks, shall become able and fit to obtain, according to the decrees of the sacred canons and of the apostolic constitutions, any benefices whatever, whether with or without the cure of souls, or offices, dignities, personats, etc., and others analogous, and any elevations forbidden to them, while they were

in the Society of Jesus, by Pope Gregory XIII, of happy memory, in his letters in form of brief of the 10th of September, 1584, commencing with the words, 'Satis superque.'

"We permit to the other members of the Society of Jesus the receipt of alms for the celebration of Mass, previously forbidden to them. We permit them to enjoy all the graces and favors of which they were deprived in perpetuity as long as they remained members of the Society of Jesus.

"We, in like manner, revoke all and every the faculties given by the general and other superiors, by virtue of privileges granted by the sovereign pontiffs, to read heretical works and others proscribed and condemned by the Apostolic See. As to the faculties of not observing fast-days, or using abstinence food on those days, anticipating or deferring the time prescribed for reciting the canonical hours, and others of that nature, we severely forbid their use in future, because it is our will that they in future, as secular priests, adapt their mode of life to the rules prescribed by the common law.

"We forbid that, after the promulgation and publication of these present letters, any one dare to suspend their execution, under any color, title, or pretext whatever, of appeal, recourse, declaration, or consultation on doubts that may arise, or any pretext foreseen or not foreseen; it being our will that, from and immediately after this moment, such suppression and abolition of the whole order of said society and of all its offices have full effect in form and manner as by us hereinbefore expressed, under pain of major excommunication incurred ipso facto, and reserved to us and the Roman pontiffs our successors pro tempore, against any one who ventures to raise any hindrance, obstacle, or delay to the execution of the dispositions contained in these letters.

"We prescribe, moreover, and, by virtue of the holy obedi-

ence, we order that all and every of the regular and secular ecclesiastics, whatever their rank, dignity, quality, and even by name those who have been admitted to the society and who have formed a part of the Company of Jesus, shall not dare to reprove or attack the present letter, to write against or even speak about the suppression, its causes, its motives, or even of the institution of the society, its constitution, the form of its government, or any other thing relating to the argument, without the express permission of the sovereign pontiff. Also, on pain of excommunication, reserved to us and to our successors in the pontificate, we forbid all and each, especially those who have belonged to the society, that, on account of this suppression, they venture to attack this act by disputation, insults, affronts, or any kind of contempt, whether by word of mouth or by writing, and publicly or privately.

"We exhort all Christian princes to employ the strength, power, and authority which they have received from God for the defence of the Holy See, in such wise that, paying that respect and devotion which they have promised to the Holy See, they give full force and effect to the present letters; and we demand that, attaching themselves to the contents of said letters, the said princes render and publish similar decrees, and see that, during the execution of these letters, no quarrel or dissension or dispute arise.

"We exhort all Christians, and by the bowels of Jesus Christ we conjure them to remember that they all have one Lord and Master who is in heaven, and that they all have one Redeemer and Restorer, by whom, at great cost, they have been redeemed, and that they all have been regenerated into the word of life by the same baptism. They are made the sons of God and the co-heirs of Christ, and they are all fed with the same food and with the same Catholic doctrine. All

of them are a single body in Jesus Christ; all are members of one another. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, that all, united by the same bond of charity, be at peace with all, and learn that they should 'owe no man anything, but to love one another'; for he who loves his neighbor accomplishes the law, in vowing a continual hatred to offences, enmities, quarrels, snares, and all other evil devices invented and put in action by the old enemy of the human race to trouble the Church of God, and prevent the eternal felicity of the faithful, under the color and pretence of teachings, opinions, and of a desire of Christian perfection.

"Finally, let all, with all their strength, seek after the real and pure wisdom of which Saint James writes: 'Who is a wise man, and endued with knowledge among you? Let him show, by a good conversation, his work in the meekness of wisdom. But if you have bitter zeal, and there be contentions in your hearts, glory not, and be not liars against the truth. For this is not wisdom, descending from above; but earthly, sensual, diabolical. For where envying and contention is, there is inconstancy and every evil work. But the wisdom which is from above, first indeed is chaste, then peaceable, modest, easy to be persuaded, consenting to the good, full of mercy and good fruits, without judging, without dissimulation. And the fruit of justice is sown in peace, to them that make peace.'

"Even should the superiors and other members of the Society of Jesus, who have an interest, real or pretended, in its concerns, not consent to the tenor of these letters, and have been neither warned nor informed of them, it is our will that these letters shall not be invalidated on any account of subreption or obreption, or nullity, or any other great reason that can be alleged, unforeseen and essential, or on account of neglect of formalities, or other rules that should be ob-

served in the foregoing, nor for any other capital head or custom, even if included in the body of the law, under the pretext of an enormous and a very enormous lesion, or any other pretext, occasion, or cause, even just, reasonable, and privileged. It must not be imagined that these letters should have been otherwise expressed. They must not be cited, retracted, or invalidated in law. This constitution cannot be provided against, or combated by way of discussion in entirety, of restitution, deduction, terms of law, fact, grace, or justice, in whatever manner it has been granted or obtained, as well by justice as by any other way. We will that these presents be firm and efficacious, and have full and entire effect, and obtain it, and that they be inviolably observed by each of those whom they now concern or shall hereafter concern. So and no otherwise, as herein contained, we will that they be judged and defined by all judges whomsoever, whether ordinary or delegated by the auditors of the apostolical palace, by the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, and also by legates a latere, nuncios of the Apostolic See, and others enjoying or entitled to any authority and power, in any cause whatever, taking from them all right and faculty of judging or interpreting them, declaring that in such case they will, whether wittingly or by ignorance, offend against these presents. We will, and command, and provide all that is hereinbefore declared, notwithstanding the constitution and the apostolic orders, even given in general councils, and, if need be, notwithstanding any other law or rule which should not be reversed; notwithstanding the privileges relating to causes, colleges, and churches of the said society, supported by oath or by apostolic confirmation, or corroborated by any other force, customs, indults, and letters apostolic granted to the said brethren, to their superiors, or to any other person, under whatsoever form or tenure, and with all

derogatory formalities and other decrees, even contrary, even rendered by an act similar to this, whether consistorially or otherwise, and in whatsoever manner they may be granted, confirmed, and innovated. Of that, and all other and similar disposition, mention is here made without derogation, as if this were special, express, annexed, and inserted word for word, and not by general clauses having the like meaning. No other recitation is required for the execution of these presents, which shall have force as though expressed word for word, and we expressly and specially forbid all contrary disposition.

"We further will and command that all faith be given to the copies of these presents, even if printed or signed by a notary, and sealed with the seal of any person of ecclesiastical dignity. To such copies the same faith should be given as to the present letters if they were exhibited or shown.

"Given at Rome, near Saint Mary Major, under the ring of the fisherman, this 21st of July, 1773, the fifth year of our pontificate.

"Cardinal Negroni."

Clement was thus compelled to abandon the arguments upon which he had based his continued resistance.

According to the cabinets of the intriguing powers, the suppression of the Jesuits would produce universal peace in Europe: Clement believed that, were he to persist in his refusal, unforeseen evils and serious disasters would result. Then, with great repugnance and inexpressible grief, after four years' resistance, he destroyed the Society of Jesus by the brief which he himself drew up. That brief, signed on the 21st of July, was not published and communicated to the Jesuits of the houses in Rome until the 16th of August. It was executed with solemn formalities, troops being em-

ployed to prevent the Jesuits from all exterior communication.

So fell the great Society of Jesus, which at that time formed forty-one provinces in the six assistances of which it consisted—viz., Italy, Portugal, Spain, France, Germany, and Poland. There were twenty-four professed houses, six hundred and sixty-nine colleges, sixty-one novitiates, three hundred and forty residences, a hundred and seventy-one seminaries, and two hundred and seventy-three missions. There were twenty-two thousand five hundred and eighty-nine Jesuits, of whom eleven thousand two hundred and ninety-three were priests. Without allowing themselves rest, and without fee or reward, they labored for the salvation of souls, and celebrated the holy mysteries in the one thousand five hundred and forty-two churches which they possessed, and in which they devoted themselves to the interests and the advantage of the public.

Thus ended that society, approved and confirmed by nineteen pontiffs, unanimously lauded by the thirty popes who, from its commencement, presided over the labors of the Holy See, including among those popes the one who destroyed the institute; honored by the praises of the most celebrated cardinals, and honored, encouraged, and tenderly beloved by the saints who lived during its existence—including among those saints Saint Cajetan; Saint Thomas of Villanova, of the order of Saint Augustine; Saint Pius V, Dominican and pontiff; Saint Louis Beltran, apostle of the Indies, Dominican; Saint Teresa, reformer of the Carmelites; Saint Charles Borromeo, cardinal-archbishop of Milan; Saint Philip Neri, founder of the Oratory; Saint Francis de Sales, Bishop of Geneva, and other saints more numerous than we have space to enumerate. It must not be forgotten that the great Saint Vincent de Paul said to his sons: "Remember that you are

the servants who carry the sacks of Saint Ignatius and his companions, and consider yourselves as the poor gleaners of the ears of wheat that the reapers have left behind them."

Many other saints and religious have done merited justice to the Society of Jesus. The order of Saint Francis, in the general chapter of 1565, publicly decreed that all its sons should especially love, above all orders, that of the Society of Jesus, with which they were to keep up a perpetual commerce of veneration, and to which the order of Saint Francis sent letters of fratellanza—brotherhood in the Lord.

From the year 1540, when it was approved by Paul III, the Society of Jesus lived, as it rose, amid and despite of the perpetual calumnies of heretics, and amid the constant contradictions of bad Catholics, but compensated by the cordial love of all good people, in the course of two hundred and thirty-three years. During that time it gave to the altars nine saints, viz.: Saint Ignatius Loyola, Saint Francis Xavier, Saint Francis Borgia, Saint John Francis Regis, Saint Aloysius Gonzaga, Saint Stanislas Kostka, the youngest of the canonized holy confessors, and the three martyrs of Japan—Paul Miki, John de Goto, and James Kisai. It also had the Blessed Francis di Girolamo, beatified by Pope Pius VII and canonized by Gregory XVI; Blessed John de Britto, Blessed Andrew Bobola, Blessed John Berchmans, Blessed Peter Canisius, Blessed Peter Claver, Blessed Ignatius Azevedo and his companions, beatified by subsequent pontiffs. The society gave to the world an infinite number of men of letters, who enriched the libraries with immortal works.

The order relating to the sequestration of the property of the Jesuits was rigorously executed. The treasury, on that occasion, showed the greed and eagerness of the treasuries in all countries.

The close of the year 1773 was marked by the hypocritical felicitations of some of the courts.

We now return to the labors customary at Rome at the near approach of a great jubilee.

Clement, on the 30th of April, 1774, published the Indiction of the Universal Jubilee for the opening of the Holy Gate.

But this pontiff was not destined by God to open the Holy Gate.

We must speak of his last labors. They relate to the catacombs of Rome. Many of the pontiffs had interested themselves in this venerable and sacred refuge of the primitive Christians. Towards the close of the reign of Clement XIV, repairs were made to what were called the foramina, the places by which the light formerly found entrance, and which served to indicate the position of the various sanctuaries.

One thing alone renders Rome a most extraordinary city, and this is the great number of subterranean cemeteries, commonly called catacombs. Considered apart from the veneration in which the Christian world holds places so holy, they are also a prodigy which arrests the minds of the most frivolous of mankind.

Who will not be stricken with a kind of stupor when, after seeing a vast city like Rome, he sees beneath it yet another Rome, more vast instead of less so, distributed into so many streets, corridors, chapels, chambers, and churches, that he meets with at every step, divided into many tiers, one above the other, with innumerable tombs, elegant pictures, graceful and artistic; the whole arranged in a kind of regular ornamentation?

If we consider these subterraneans as places consecrated to memorials of the triumphs of the ancient martyrs, our surprise and veneration are increased; for they represent a very

vast treasure-house of antiquities, sanctified by the bones of many of the champions of the faith which they still contain, or which have been sent forth thence to all parts of the Catholic world. These places were the work and the abode of noble pontiffs, and of the primitive Christians, whose blood was the seed of the Church, and who, by the odor of their sanctity, draw so many to the Christian religion. They lived in that happy time when a new faith spread with primitive fervor among the faithful, as Saint Jerome says. Those places, no less than the magnificent works of the Cæsars and of the world-vanquishing people, not only excite admiration, but prompt serious study.

The first modern writer who labored successfully in this field was Onuphrius Panvini, a great light of the Augustinian order, the celebrated illustrator of Roman antiquities, who acquired a high reputation by his work, On the Mode of Burying the Dead among the Christians, and on their Cemeteries. In this he treated only of their assemblies and the pious ceremonies performed in those cemeteries; yet he described those last asylums of man, of which he reckoned forty-three.

After him came Anthony Bosio, a Maltese, a doctor in law and advocate at Rome, and subsequently agent of the order of Saint John of Jerusalem. From 1567 to 1600 he devoted, says Moreri, nearly his whole time to the examination and study of those ancient cemeteries, tracing their plan, and often visiting them to copy the paintings and sculptures which he discovered and made known in his Roma Sotterranea—Subterranean Rome.

The pontiffs unweariedly caused the work to be continued, so as to clear up various very difficult passages in the Fathers. Henry de Sponde, Bishop of Pamiers, also wrote on the same subject.

Bottari's work resumes and completes these labors. His style is simple, free from flowery language, clear, and precise. The author lauds the piety with which the pontiffs have continued to honor the little churches that are found in the catacombs. On this subject he directs attention to the great prudence of Boniface IV, who, without removing a stone, converted Agrippa's Pantheon into a Catholic church.

The same zeal which led the popes to consolidate the supports of those vast streets of the catacombs suggested the idea of especially attending to the exact closing of the foramina in a part of the Vatican crypts. By no method can those pious abodes be violated from without. They still contain a great number of tombs of martyrs who found shelter there.

One can easily conceive the expenses entailed on Clement XIV by his wish to arrest the progress of decay in this subterranean Rome occasioned by dampness, and that those sums were granted with generous readiness, especially when it could be observed that the primitive Christian artists had, in some sort, prepared the ideas that the great talents of the revival of art would attain a degree of perfection now declared almost inimitable.

Clement's health began to be seriously affected. On Ascension day he published the bull of the holy year, but his disorder became more serious. He suffered severe pains; baths were prescribed, but they afforded no relief. Dr. Bianchi, a physician of Rimini, ordered artificial means to be resorted to for the purpose of exciting copious perspiration; and, though the summer heat was then at its greatest, Clement was continually exposed to the most ardent sun, which scarcely could be resisted by insensible marble. By degrees he fell into a universal marasmus, and by the end of July the pope was reduced to an almost unrecognizable shadow. At

the beginning of September, notwithstanding the progress of the disorder that was consuming him, he fancied that he still had strength enough to make the slight journey to Castel Gandolfo, where, during his pontificate, he had been accustomed to seek a pure atmosphere during the months of May and October. It is true that for five months the pope had been continually battling against death, but at length his constitution, strong as it had been, succumbed, and the fatal moment at length arrived, on the 8th of September, when, in the chapel of the Nativity of the Virgin, at Saint Mary's del Popolo, he presided at the beatification of the venerable Bonaventure of Potenza, a Conventual Franciscan, as he himself had been. It was necessary in all haste to bear the pope to the Quirinal, which palace he left but on a few occasions afterwards.

On the 30th of March it was known at Rome that on the 23d of that month the King of Naples had restored Benevento, and that France had restored Avignon. On the 10th of May, 1774, Louis XV died, an event which deeply grieved the pope, for in his heart the pope loved Louis, whom he did not consider as an enemy to Rome.

The Romans made many calculations upon the pontiff's illness, which they attributed to various causes. Some thought that his blood had become fevered by the effect of arduous mental labors and by his habitually exposing himself to a burning sun, while others maintained that he had been poisoned. The true cause of his illness was a universal scorbutic affection. The celebrated Florentine surgeon, Nannoni, being at Rome to perform an operation upon a great personage, was consulted upon the serious state of the pope. Nannoni, after careful consideration of all the symptoms, declared that the evil was a scorbutic affection of the blood, and far advanced. He advised a certain regimen,

which might mitigate the disease, but could by no possibility cure it. Thus, some time before the death of Clement, Nannoni rejected the poison theory, and pronounced that death was approaching. Cardinal de Bernis, too, who at first had believed the pope poisoned, subsequently confessed that he was convinced of the contrary.

What is quite certain is that the vigorous constitution of Clement was in a short time utterly enfeebled by a disease the activity of which baffled the most skilful physicians and the hopes of every one, as was stated by Father Marzoni, his confessor, in a circular which, in his capacity of general, he addressed to the whole order of Conventuals. However, the pope rallied his waning strength sufficiently to sign the bull which put his former brethren in possession of the Penitentiary of Saint Peter at Rome, and of the Madonna of Loretto, which the Jesuits had enjoyed from the time of Saint Pius V. While at the point of death, he was greatly urged to name eleven cardinals who, in that year, had been reserved in petto; but he constantly replied: "We cannot and we will not do it. The Lord will judge our reasons." They knelt to.him and repeated their request. He replied decisively and regardless of etiquette: "I am on my way to eternity, and I know why."

He received Holy Viaticum. On the following day extreme unction was administered in presence of the Sacred College, and he died on the 22d of September, 1774, in presence of the generals of the Augustinians, Dominicans, Minor Observantines, and Conventuals, after governing the Church five years, four months, and three days.

In the Gazette of Florence for the 9th of September, 1775, there appeared a certificate by Father Louis Maria Marzoni, general of the Conventuals, in which that fellow-religious of Clement, and his private and fully trusted confidant, protests

that on no occasion did the pope ever say that he had been poisoned.

There were other accusations of the kind. It was said that great men, offended by the events that had occurred during the papacy of Ganganelli, had determined to get rid of him. The truth, however, is exactly that which was constantly affirmed by judicious and disinterested men, who accuse no one, but affirm that the pope's death was occasioned by the scorbutic affection of which we have spoken.

To prove the poisoning, some writers have asserted that soon after death the body of Clement fell to pieces, a not uncommon effect of an acrid poison. Despatches to more than one court gave to that rumor something like the consistency of truth. These despatches, which may have been seen at Paris and Madrid, announced not only that the body had fallen to pieces, but also that, the head having fallen into a kind of dissolution, it had been found necessary to substitute a head of wax when the funeral ceremonies were to be performed.

When, in 1802, the body of Pius VI, who died at Valencia, was delivered to Monsignor Spina by an at once generous and compensating attention on the part of the First Consul Bonaparte, the sarcophagus of Clement XIV stood over the grating of the chapel of the canons in Saint Peter's, where each deceased pontiff reposes until the body of his successor is borne thither to replace him. The monument erected in the Church of the Holy Apostles, the church of the convent in which Clement lived when he was still a friar, was ready to receive his body. It was necessary that the corpse should be formally examined and authenticated. In presence of a host of witnesses, among whom was the celebrated sculptor Canova, the seals were removed from the wooden and from the leaden coffin, and the body of Clement, perfect and en-

tire, was discovered and fully identified. The body had not fallen to pieces; the natural head was in its natural situation, and the only wax in the case was the remnant of the waxen mask which is placed on the face of every deceased pope during the first three of the nine days (novendiali).

Thus all Rome, all the diplomatic body, and Canova, to whom the body of Clement, entire and well preserved, was intrusted, were convinced that the fable of the body fallen to pieces and the wax head had been invented by the bad and believed by the credulous.

Clement was of ordinary stature. He had a long face, a broad forehead, black and bushy eyebrows, and bright eyes. His constitution promised him almost a century of life. He understood the French language, but spoke it only with his friends. He held nepotism in such horror that he would never allow his nephew, who was studying jurisprudence, to be with him. He could not even be persuaded to send any little present to his nephews or nieces. "No," said he to a canon of Fossombrone, and to Father Bontempo, the pope's dearest confidant; "should we give some mere trifles, we should be asked for things of more importance, and we should gradually get accustomed to refuse nothing."

When he was dying he was urged to make his will. He replied: "What we possess will go where it should go." After his death, effects were found of very considerable value—sums proceeding from presents that had been made to him. An inventory was made, and the whole was divided between his two nephews, Tebaldi and Fabri.

All his actions were performed with anxious care, and always before the time. Accustomed to community life, he was ever ready before the appointed moment, and often he did not wait until the whole of the Sacred College had assembled. In his habits he was strictly methodical. He went out

daily after dinner; and he spent a part of his evenings in the Villa Patrizi, outside the Porta Pia. There, with the chief persons of his court, he witnessed the playing of tracco, an Italian variety of billiards. On returning to his palace he visited the Blessed Sacrament in the Pauline Chapel.

The coffin containing the body was placed above the door which gives access to one of the chantries, whence it was removed on the 21st of January, 1802, to the Church of the Holy Apostles, and laid in the tomb erected there by the great Canova.

The Holy See was vacant four months and twenty-two days.

We will close with a few quoted facts relative to the tomb of Clement XIV.

"When Canova began to be distinguished at Rome, he numbered among his friends Volpato, the engraver of the finest works of Raphael, a man of exemplary honor. Canova asked in marriage the hand of Domenica, a daughter of that artist, who consented to that union.

"At that juncture, Signor Carlo Georgi, to whom Clement XIV had given a lucrative employment, wishing to erect a monument to his benefactor, requested Volpato to find out a sculptor competent to the fitting execution of that great work. Volpato recommended Canova, not because the latter was about to become his son-in-law, but because he was a man of distinguished talent. The name of his employer remained a secret, which Canova promised faithfully to keep. In the midst of his good fortune, Canova was to experience a great grief. Domenica determined to give her hand to Raphael Morghen. Volpato, in revoking the promise of a father, confirmed the commands of the friend, and he advised the young artist, who was barely eighteen years old, to go to Carrara and select marble fit for his monument.

On his return, he began, and very rapidly finished the colossal model in clay. The statue of Clement XIV, in the pontifical habit, was seated above a sarcophagus, accompanied by two statues of the same proportions. One of these is standing, and is Moderation weeping; the other, Gentleness, is seated on the surbase, which was to contain a scene copied from the door of the sacristy of the Church of the Holy Apostles. Previous to casting the model in plaster, Canova begged Gavino Hamilton, his friend and a very good painter, to bring his friend, the great painter, Pompey Battoni. The latter, on seeing the group, said only these few words: 'This young man has great talent, but he has chosen a wrong way; I advise him to quit it'; and he went out. Canova was completely overwhelmed by this dictatorial sentence; but Gavino restored him to courage. Quatremère de Quincy, who was then at Rome, arrived, and told Canova that Battoni had spoken as a partisan of the Berninis and the Marattas, and of their traditions, which were unreasonable.

" ' It is precisely against their manner and their taste for imitation,' continued De Quincy, 'that you have set up again the banner of antiquity; and his criticism should rather please and encourage than vex and depress you. The best reply to such criticisms is to persevere in the true system.' Wishing to prove himself still further a true friend, he praised the figure of Gentleness, in which he suggested some alterations. He went so far as to say of the figure of Moderation: 'In its present state, it is not worthy of you.' Canova replied in tones of friendship: 'Oh, many thanks!' He abandoned that Moderation, and commenced another.

"Eight days afterwards, the new statue, eleven feet high, was finished as we now see it. Milizia, who had the reputation of a rigid Aristarchus, wrote to Count Sangiovanni that in that mausoleum Gentleness looks as innocent and

gentle as the lamb by her side; and that formerly, in the palmy days of Greece, if they could be supposed to have to represent a pope, they would have given him no other appearance than that which Canova had given to Ganganelli. The composition is of a simplicity the most facile in appearance, though in reality most difficult."

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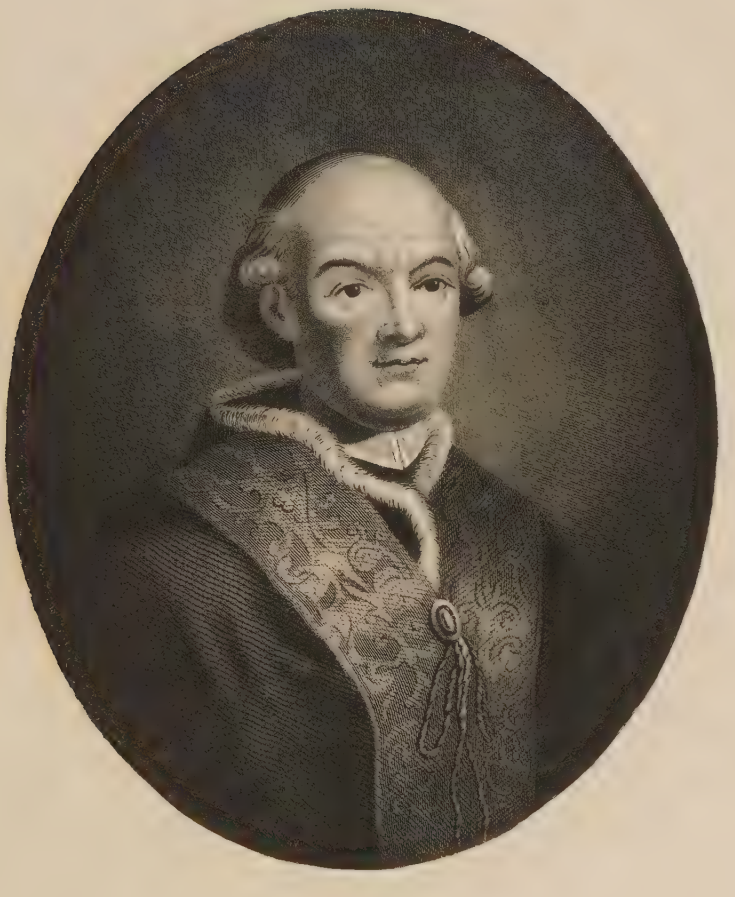
PIUS VI—A.D. 1775

PIUS VI (Giovanni Angelo Braschi) was born at Cesena, a city of Romagna, December 27, 1717; his father, Count Marco Aurelio Braschi, belonging to one of the noblest families of the city, and his mother being the Countess Anna Teresa Bandi, an illustrious lady of that province.

After early studies under his parents' eyes, young Braschi passed to the schools of the Jesuits, where he soon displayed the happiest qualities. His judgment was precocious. He learned the most difficult matters with ease, and retained them in a memory which never lost them; for fifty years after he still recited from memory extracts from the most celebrated Greek and Roman writers, as though he had but just read them. He was not yet eighteen when, in 1735, he was made doctor of the civil and canon law; and that moment he resolved to embrace the ecclesiastical career, although the last male of his line. To perfect himself in study, he left Cesena and proceeded to Ferrara, under the direction of his maternal uncle, John Charles Bandi, then auditor to Cardinal Ruffo, the pontifical legate in that province. The



PIUS VI.

cardinal, soon won by his docility, modesty, courtesy, and eloquence, gave him all his confidence and made him his secretary.

In 1740 he attended the cardinal to Rome as his conclavist, and was then made by him auditor in his diocese of Ostia and Velletri. This post Braschi kept for thirteen years, till the death of his protector in 1753.

On the 11th of August, 1744, being at Naples during an engagement between the Austrians and Neapolitans, in which Charles III, King of Naples, had well-nigh fallen into the hands of the Austrians, Braschi saved the papers of the Neapolitan chancery. The king, subsequently meeting him at Rome, promised him his protection, and he always retained it.

Troubles having arisen at Naples in regard to archbishops' officials, Benedict XIV sent Braschi to settle the difficulty. The negotiator succeeded to the satisfaction of both courts. To reward him, Benedict made him the assistant in his studies. Employed in writing under the dictation of that learned pontiff, Braschi became secret chamberlain and canon of the Vatican. Propositions were made for his marriage, but he renounced all idea of it. He solicited the priesthood. In 1758 he entered the prelacy, and took the oath of referendary in the presence of Cardinal Corsini.

In 1759 Cardinal Rezzonico, camerlinga, chose Braschi as his civil auditor, a post always filled by an able jurisconsult and prelate. Clement XIII made Monsignor Braschi treasurer-general in 1766, and Clement XIV created him cardinal on the 26th of April, 1773.

After the funeral of Clement twenty-seven cardinals entered into conclave. Other arrivals increased the number to forty-three, and the conclave was prolonged to four months and nine days.

As before, the courts of the house of Bourbon resorted to

infamous intrigues, to violations of the established rules of the conclaves; and the minister of the petty kingdom of Portugal threatened to resort to force if the cardinals did not elect a pope to please the crowns. The unbiassed cardinals, having only the true interests of the Church at heart, might have elected a pope from the first, but to give no ground for any accusation of surprise, calmly awaited the arrival of their colleagues at a distance. One thing, however, they made well understood—that exclusions by the crowns, pushed to such an extreme in the last conclave, were too odious a step to be again renewed.

Gradually the votes for Cardinal Braschi so increased as to leave so little doubt of his election that all at last united in raising him to the papacy on the 15th of February, 1775.

The new pope took the name of Pius VI, in honor of Saint Pius V, for whom he had a special devotion. He was consecrated bishop on the 22d of February, and crowned immediately afterwards, although he did not take possession of Saint John Lateran till the 30th of November.

One of the first cares of Pius VI was to open the jubilee of the holy year and provide for the wants of the crowds of pilgrims who thronged the Eternal City. Suitable provision was made for the reception of Charles Theodore, Elector Palatine of the Rhine; Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, brother of Joseph II; the Duke of Gloucester, brother of George III; and the Marquis of Anspach, brother of the King of Prussia.

The holy door was opened on the 26th of February, and closed by the pope, with great ceremony, on Christmas eve.

The next care of the pontiff was to establish regulations as to the dress of ecclesiastics, and reform a certain laxity in manners which had crept in. Several decisions rendered by him on these points were universally approved in Italy.

Before ascending the throne, Pius, having been treasurer-general, was conversant with the financial abuses. The preceding pope had too lavishly granted survivorships. Pius severely revoked all. He reduced large pensions unwisely granted, and thus in an instant increased the revenues.

Little protection had been accorded to agriculture. Fresh from the cabinet, he knew how much depended on it. New laws protected the farmer and dealers in grain; rewards were assigned to the most vigilant agriculturists. A congregation of cardinals was appointed to consider the evil effects of sloth, scanty sowings, monopolies, false weights. The State then received greater returns, and merchants relief. It was unusual to see a treasury department thus aid a class it elsewhere oppresses. This congregation immediately ordered a merchant, who had enjoyed the favor of the preceding pontiff, to account for nine hundred thousand crowns furnished by the apostolic chamber to purchase grain during the scarcity of 1771–1772, and to aid those who were too embarrassed to sow necessary crops. He was convicted, not of fraud, but of neglect, and condemned to refund to the treasury two hundred and eighty-two thousand crowns.

The King of Spain, perceiving the ruin of this merchant, relieved him in his distress by a pension.

The Holy Father, animated by a sentiment of justice, wished to show his interest in the Jesuits, whom he acknowledged as unfortunate rather than guilty. To several he granted favors, and, without formally disapproving what had been done, he improved the treatment of those whom he found confined in the Castle of Sant' Angelo. Among these was Father Ricci, the general of the order. He died on the 24th of November, 1775. By order of the pope, solemn obsequies were performed in the church of the Florentines, and his

body borne to the Gesù, to repose beside his predecessors in the generalship. Father Ricci left a memoir in which he protested, as he did also before receiving the Viaticum, in the presence of several witnesses—(1) that the Society of Jesus had, to his knowledge, given no grounds for its suppression, and this he declared as a superior well informed of the affairs of his order; (2) that as to himself individually, he did not believe that any act of his merited the imprisonment or hardships to which he was subjected on the extinction of the society; that he sincerely pardoned all who had harassed and afflicted him, first by the ill-treatment of his brethren, and then by their attacks on his reputation. Pope Pius VI soon after released from imprisonment all the other Jesuits. At the same time, on the request of Frederic II, King of Prussia, he maintained the institute of those religious, as a body, in the States of that prince, who deemed them necessary for the instruction of a million and a half of his Catholic subjects. On this occasion, not to give umbrage to the courts of the house of Bourbon, Frederic asked that the Jesuits should lay aside the distinctive habit of their order, and appear only in the dress of secular priests, although freely following their rule.

Meanwhile, in pursuance of a decree of the heads of the orders, cardinals who in turn direct affairs during the vacancy of the Holy See, a prosecution was carried on against the Abbate Gaetan Sertor, a Florentine, who, during the recent conclave, had published a drama entitled The Conclave, ridiculing nearly all the members of the Sacred College, to the great scandal of the Catholic world. But Pope Pius, believing him led away by poetic imagination and ill-directed wit, rather than perverse feelings, deemed his long imprisonment a sufficient punishment. He accordingly ordered him to retire for some months to a convent of Ob-

servantine Franciscans, and then leave the Roman States. Cardinal Zelada, who had most ground to complain of Sertor's satire, not only pardoned him, but, with religious generosity, sent him a hundred crowns for his journey, advising him, however, to devote himself to a more useful profession than that of satiric poet.

During the previous reign the property of Peter Ojetti had been sequestrated for illegally shipping grain out of the State. After his death his widow applied to Pius, and showed the irregularity of two judges in the case. The pope instituted an examination, restored the property, and removed the judges, who, under a severer pontiff, would not have escaped so lightly.

To these proofs of his equity Pius added an ardent desire to show his zeal for the good of his people. A project for draining the Pontine marshes had been presented to Clement XIV by Monsignor Bolognini. He proposed to drain a district all covered with lakes, connecting for over twelve leagues. The Holy Father examined the plan calmly and attentively; and, anxious to improve the sanitary condition and agricultural value of the district, approved the plan, confiding its execution to Monsignor Bolognini, subjecting him for general direction to a congregation of cardinals.

For several years after, Pius VI consulted the most learned men in hydrostatics, and experienced engineers, among others Louis Benck and Gaetan Damini. The works were to begin in 1777. Then the pope, to avoid all questions between the communes and the owners of the lands and fisheries in the district embraced in the project, appointed Luke Sperandoni commissary legate, with the power to pronounce on all disputes arising. Two professors of mathematics and hydrostatics, Boldrini and Zannotti, were chosen to examine and resolve difficulties that might arise in regard

to the plans for the several sections. A general plan of the works in detail was drawn up by Angelo Sani, to serve as a guide for the superintendents, at the head of whom was Gaetan Rapini, a Bolognese, a surveyor and architect accustomed to similar works. The first attempts were successful, and a great part of the district was at once drained.

At this moment the Barnabite Father Santini laid before the pope the plan of a canal at Rome, which would be most serviceable to commerce, saving the expense of land transportation to the capital; but to Pius VI the draining of the marshes seemed a more glorious and more beneficial work.

As we have seen, a museum called the Clementine was founded under Clement XIV. Pius VI ordered embellishments, improvements, and additions on so extensive a scale that the museum received the name Pio-Clementine, and was placed under the guardianship of the celebrated Abbate Visconti.

The Archduchess Mary Christina and her husband, Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen, having arrived at Rome to visit the pope, were received with cordiality. Soon after, Rome saw within her gates the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, Prince Augustus of Saxe-Gotha, Prince Augustus, brother of the King of England, Gustavus III, King of Sweden, his brother the Duke of Ostrogothia, and finally the Emperor Joseph II, and the Count du Nord, son of the Empress Catharine. They came to admire the city of Catholicism. The pope ordered the first princes of the State to pay to these august visitors the honors of the grandeurs of Rome.

All the ideas of Pius VI were grand. Saint Peter's was the noblest temple on earth, but it had no sacristy in keeping with its magnificence. Old structures were demolished, the ground levelled for the erection of a new edifice, and the pope, with imposing ceremonial, laid the corner-stone. Be-

sides the sacristy, the new erections were to comprise the capitulary chamber and the canonica, a building large enough to accommodate all the canons. The enterprising pontiff did not confine his meditations to such labors; his genius, ever devoted to the good of his people, must needs embrace other works to give employment and illustrate his reign.

He purposed joining Lake Thrasymene with the Tiber by a mathematically traced descent. This would be an incalculable benefit to the neighborhood of Perugia. Father Gaudio, of the Pious Schools, was appointed to prepare the plans.

The antemural of Civita Vecchia, that formidable bulwark reared against the sea by Trajan, urgently required repair. This was ordered by Pius VI and executed with skill.

The tribute of the palfrey still existed, notwithstanding the discontent of Bernard Tanucci, minister of Naples. By a despatch addressed to the Prince of Cimitilla, ambassador of His Sicilian Majesty, the minister declared that the king had resolved no longer to consent to the solemn ceremony of the palfrey; in future His Majesty would simply remit to the pontifical treasury the stipulated sum of seven thousand gold ducats, as a devout offering to the apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul. The pope, by his silence, neither approved nor disapproved the king's resolution, although a violation of the solemn oath taken in his name at the time of the investiture. When, on Saint Peter's day, in 1777, the ceremony of the palfrey took place with the ordinary pomp, Constable Colonna added to his accustomed discourse that he presented the tribute for that year in attestation of the devotion of his sovereign to the apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul. The pope, surprised at this formula, replied promptly:

"We accept this palfrey as a sign of vassalage due us." The people with lively acclamations applauded this reply.

The same enthusiasm was not shown at the sumptuous festivities celebrated on the 31st of August, when the famous shepherdess of Arcadia, Corilla Olimpica (Magdalen Morelli Fernandez di Pistoia), was crowned in the Capitol. Many Romans deemed her unworthy of such an honor, granted only to the most renowned poets; and satirical verses assailed this complaisance of Pius VI. The new laureate was hissed as she left the Capitol, and had to leave Rome under an armed escort.

This same year witnessed a ministerial revolution which took place in Portugal. The cruel minister, Pombal, lost his power. Prison doors rolled open, and the countless victims long pining there recovered their liberty; the pope's nuncio recovered his lost privileges; many religious houses that had been proscribed were restored; the see of Lisbon recovered its honors, revenues, and chapter; bishops came forth from bondage. This revolution changed the lot of the ex-Jesuits confined in Saint Julian's tower at Lisbon, victims of the monster's tyranny. The new queen, after the death of her father, Joseph I, exiled Pombal, whom a tribunal had just condemned to death.

Pius VI deemed it a favorable opportunity to demand reimbursement for the expenses incurred by the pontifical treasury in supporting the Portuguese Jesuits, thrown almost naked and like so many slaves on the Roman shore. The queen admitted the justice of the claim, and paid one million and eighty thousand crowns, soliciting, moreover, new religious favors for her kingdom.

At that moment the Empress Maria Teresa solicited the erection of two new sees in Hungary, which Pius VI eagerly granted.

New sees were also established in the vast Spanish possessions in the Indies, at the request of the King of Spain.

In a promotion on the 24th of April, 1775, the pope created as cardinals: (1) Leonard Antonelli, a noble of Sinigaglia, born November 6, 1730, afterwards prefect of the Propaganda, and dean of the Sacred College; (2) Bernardine de Vecchi, a Siennese noble, born June 28, 1699. In a second promotion, May 29, 1775, he created John Charles Bandi, of Cesena, his maternal uncle, born July 17, 1700. In a third promotion, July 17, 1775, he created Francis Mary Banditi, of Rimini, born September 9, 1705, and Ignatius Buoncompagni Ludovisi, of the princes of Piombino, born July 17, 1743.

In a fourth promotion, November 13, 1775, he created cardinal Friar John Thomas de Boxadors, a noble Spaniard, born at Barcelona, April 3, 1703, minister-general of the order of Saint Dominic.

In 1776 Pius VI made two promotions. In the first, on the 15th of April, he created Louis Valenti Gonzaga, born at Rovere, near Mantua, October 15, 1725, nuncio at Madrid; John Archinte, of Milan, born August 10, 1736, majordomo. In the second he created Guy Calcagnini, of Ferrara; Angelo Mary Durini, of Milan, nuncio in Poland, president at Avignon.

Since his accession thirteen cardinals had died—De Solis, Sersale, De Roth, Malvezzi, De Vecchi, Bonacorsi, Veterani, Saldanha, Paracciani, Torreggiani, De Rochechouart, Spinola, and De la Roche Aymon. It was necessary to fill these vacancies.

In 1777 Pius VI made his seventh promotion. It comprised: (1) Bernard Honorati, born at Jesi, July 17, 1724, secretary of Bishops and Regulars; (2) Mark Antony Marcolini, of Fano, born November 22, 1721, president of Urbino;

(3) William Palotta, of Macerata, born November 13, 1727, treasurer-general of the chamber; (4) Gregory Salviati, born at Rome, December 12, 1722, vice-legate at Avignon; (5) Andrew Giovanetti, of Bologna, born January 15, 1722, a Camaldolese; (6) Hyacinth Sigismund Gerdil, born at Samoens, near Geneva, in Savoy, June 23, 1718, a Barnabite, and preceptor of the princes royal of Savoy; (7) John Anthony Manciforte Spinelli, a noble of Ancona, born at Assisi, February 22, 1730, nuncio at Florence; (8) Vincent Mary Altieri, born November 27, 1724.

The eighth promotion took place June 1, 1777; it was called the promotion of the crowns, and comprised: (1) Francis Xavier del Gado, a noble Spaniard, born December 18, 1714, Patriarch of the Indies, Archbishop of Seville; (2) Dominic de la Rochefoucauld, born near Mende in 1713, Archbishop of Rouen; (3) John Henry de Franckenberg, born at Flockau, near Breslau, September 18, 1726, Archbishop of Mechlin; (4) Joseph Bathyany, born at Vienna, January 30, 1727, Archbishop of Strigonia; (5) Thomas Mary Ghilini, a Piedmontese, born at Alessandria, August 5, 1718, secretary of the Consulta; (6) Charles Joseph Philip de Martiniana, a Piedmontese, born at Turin, June 17, 1724, Bishop of Vercelli; (7) Louis René Edward de Rohan, born at Paris, September 25, 1734, Bishop of Canope in partibus, and coadjutor to his uncle, the Bishop of Strasburg; (8) Ferdinand de Souza y Sylva, a Portuguese, born at Lisbon, September 5, 1712, principal of the patriarch at Lisbon; (9) John Cornaro, a Venetian, born June 5, 1720, governor of Rome; (10) Romuald Guidi, of Cesena, born February 5, 1722, commander of Espiritu Santo in Sassa.

The ninth promotion took place July 12, 1779. It comprised Alexander Mattei, a Roman, born February 20, 1744, Archbishop of Ferrara; and Francis Herzan de Harras, a

Bohemian, born at Prague, April 5, 1735, auditor of the Rota for the Germans.

On the 11th of December, 1780, Pius VI made his tenth promotion, and created cardinal Paul Francis Antamori, a Roman, born November 14, 1712, Bishop of Orvieto.

In order to diffuse still more the benefits of the Catholic religion, the Holy Father issued a bull in which he confirmed the dispositions already taken to preserve and repair the holy places, the custody of which is so justly confided to the Franciscans of the Observance. The Holy Father exhorted all the faithful to send alms to these Fathers, who had paid enormous contributions during the last wars of the Turks. It was necessary, too, to keep up the exercises of piety practised around the tomb of Christ. The ecclesiastical authorities in all the Catholic States were urged to make quarterly collections. All who contributed to relieve these necessities were admitted to a participation in all the pious works of the Franciscans.

Constant complaints were made to the pope against the laxity of life in the order of Malta. Four years before, September 9, 1775, three hundred rebels, instigated by Gaetan Mannarino, a priest, formerly a missionary and preacher, formed a conspiracy against the grand master. A dispute, too, between that sovereign and the bishop of the island had been carried so far that the latter was obliged to leave his church and take refuge in Rome. The pope, to reform the order and restore peace, ordered that no one in the island should receive the tonsure, except under the title of benefice or perpetual chapel. None were to be admitted to minor orders under eighteen, unless they had spent at least three years in a seminary, and brought an authentic testimonial of correct life.

Pius VI then became mediator between the grand master

and bishop, and by his good offices restored the pastor to his flock.

The pope was troubled with the opposition of some Catholic courts, whose regulations on ecclesiastical matters conflicted with the interests of religion. The obstinate schism of the Church of Utrecht also afflicted him. At the same time, the heart of the Holy Father was gladdened by the tidings that the English government had modified and to a great extent abolished some provisions of an act of William III against the Catholic bishops and against Catholics remaining in the British empire. They were restored to almost all the rights everywhere deemed inherent in a good citizen.

Pius was also consoled by the retractation of Monsignor John Nicholas de Hontheim, Bishop of Myriophidia in partibus, and suffragan of Prince Clement of Saxe, archbishop-elector of Treves. In his work, De Statu Ecclesiæ, published in 1763, under the pseudonym of Justin Febronius, and condemned by Clement XIII in 1764, this prelate warmly assailed the rights of the Holy See, and endeavored to destroy the unity of the Church.

The work that threw most lustre on the reign of Pius VI, and to which he himself attached most value, was the draining of the Pontine marshes. It flattered his self-love, and drew on him pompous eulogies. It was indeed an enterprise tending to the prosperity and salubrity of an important part of Italy.

The Appian Way, so famous in history for its age and its founder, illustrated by so many triumphal processions, and which sufficed in its very ruins to give a high idea of the magnificence of the Romans in their works, crossed the district called the Pontine marshes.

The origin of their existence is lost in the night of time. Two rivers, which have preserved to our day their ancient

names, Amasemus and Uffens, seem by their overflow to have desolated the country whenever the neglect of the local authorities ceased to call in the beneficent hand of industry. From this part of the Apennines, which borders the ancient Campania, and at the foot of which is a large valley running to the sea, descend a number of streams of all sizes, fed by inexhaustible sources in the summits and sides of that rocky range. Blending, they form several rivers, whose bed, constantly filled up by the mud brought down, becomes incapable of holding the abundant tribute they receive, especially in the rainy season, when they rise and overflow the plain, which is level with their banks. Some of these streams flow into the lowest parts, and there form vast ponds, which teem with fish. Such is the permanent cause of the marshy tendency of this district; such the obstacles which the Romans in the splendor of their republic had to overcome.

A colony of Spartans, disgusted with the severity of the Lycurgan laws, left Lacedæmon, and after a long and painful voyage landed on this coast. Finding a fertile country, they settled there, and, according to the usage of those superstitious times, consecrated a temple, a sacred wood, and fountains to an unknown goddess, whom they chose to call Feronia, and whose worship and altars are immortalized by Horace.

By the care of this industrious colony, the country which they had peacefully conquered filled up rapidly with people and shone with culture. It is the land of the Volsci, who play a part in the hardy youth of the Roman republic. This country was long one of the principal granaries of the city of Rome.

But even at the period of its greatest splendor, this country, wasted by the inundations, assumed indistinctively the

names of Campagna and marshes. The twenty-three cities that once adorned its surface lived only in the memory of the Romans. The great families of the capital, however, erected, on the spots where elevation or industry checked the ravages of the stagnant waters, those villas whose charms and fertility have been chanted by the Roman muse.

About three centuries before the Christian era, the censor Appius Claudius, surnamed the Blind, was the first benefactor of this country, having thrown across the marshes the causeway which bears his name and was never equalled in magnificence. Among other monuments, it presented those tombs which awakened in the soul of the traveller the philosophic thought: "Those who here repose once lived, and, like thee, were mortal."

Yet it was not till a century and a half after the construction of the Appian Way that the consul Cornelius Cethegus undertook to drain the Pontine marshes. His effort was vain and transitory. Julius Cæsar found the Campagna again a desert. Eager for every form of glory, he determined to restore it to agriculture, but a premature death prevented the fulfilment of his plan.

Augustus, however, opened along the Appian Way a canal to receive and carry off the stagnant waters, and at the same time furnish a means for transporting passengers and merchandise. It was by this canal that Horace went with Mæcenas from Rome to Brundisium, seasoning his account of the trip with his satirical humor.

Trajan was the next to attempt the improvements of this ill-starred district; but he merely repaired and embellished the Appian Way, and erected one that bears his name.

Nearly three centuries afterwards, during the memorable reign of Theodoric I, King of the Goths in Italy, the Pontine marshes resumed their hideous form. That prince, by his

minister, the great Cassiodorus, thus depicts them to the Roman senate, in the poetic style of the time, which was not really so barbarous: "These marshes, whose hostile fury ravages the neighboring country, where the resistless violence of the waters extends like a sea, and rules all the country from afar, desolates the finest fields by fearful inundations, withering their smiling face by converting it into a desert, and dishonors a soil which, stripped of its fruits by these incursions, no longer bears useful products, since it has fallen a prey to the stagnant waters. Let us admire and imitate the bold energy of past ages revived in one of our contemporaries, who faces alone what the united powers of the State shrank from undertaking." He alludes to Decius, a rich patrician, who really offered to undertake alone the drainage of these marshes, Theodoric ceding to him the part which he might recover, it being but just, he said, that each one should enjoy the fruit of his toil.

An inscription found near Terracina proves that the efforts of Decius were crowned with some success. But after him, time, powerfully seconded by the ravages of war, the ignorance and neglect of governments, resumed its sway over this country, alternately the scene of rich cultivation and slimy wilderness. The popes whose temporal authority first extended over it were prevented by the troubles of the time from possessing that constant activity, and by the low state of science from possessing the knowledge or means requisite to accomplish those miracles of industry. Boniface VIII, Martin V, Leo X, Sixtus V especially, whose character recalls in many points of view the fairest days of Rome, craved this glory and did not fail to gain some advantage. Projects were formed, maps made, Dutch engineers consulted, the character of Holland having created a body of skilful engineers, who, availing themselves of the learning

of the old Italians, had saved numerous acres of ground from the waves of the sea. Several Bolognese under Benedict XIV, Clements XIII and XIV, presented plans of drainage which were lightly examined and laid away in the portfolios of the Vatican. Meanwhile the source of ravage flowed slowly but uninterruptedly on, so that when Pius VI ascended the throne, the Pontine marshes, after two centuries of neglect, presented a most lamentable aspect.

To restore them to agriculture and bless with salubrity the vast tract which they covered, was an enterprise to appal any ordinary courage; that of Pius was sustained by the perspective of glory that was to environ his name. One day visiting that desolate waste, he shuddered as he beheld from a hilltop the ravages of time and water, the pestilential fog hovering over the scene, the very danger that menaced him if he continued too long to tread that unsafe spot. He conceived the project of beginning by opening a secure road, and constructing great bridges over this abyss, in order to give at least means of crossing it without danger. Then would come the great operation of draining. The marshes begin at the port of Astura, where Cicero was beheaded, and where, thirteen centuries later, the ill-fated Conradin fell into the hands of his pitiless conqueror. The marshes then extend along the coast to Terracina, on the Neapolitan border, striking in some places far inland. They would long since have poisoned Rome, had not the pestilential vapors been arrested by the forests which shield the towns of Cisterna and Sermoneta.

In the commencement of a reign, especially after a troubled one, attention and hope revive, and designs of more than ordinary extent may be attempted. The sovereign pontiff was now only fifty-eight years of age; vanity, ambition, and adulation eagerly seconded his views. The projects of

Pius were applauded by his new subjects. He founded a bank which, under the name of Mount of the Marshes, was to receive the funds assigned to the work. Voluntary subscriptions soon raised one hundred and twenty thousand Roman crowns. Bolognini was placed at the head of the undertaking. Sani mapped out the ground, showing where the operations might be commenced with the greatest prospect of success.

The first discovery under the mud was that of an aqueduct for supplying Terracina with water. It was restored at trifling expense. The famous Appian Way was cleared of the successive layers of mud that had buried it, and that masterpiece of Roman magnificence, built entirely of lava, and extending from Rome to Capua, was again restored to the light of day and the use of man, not, however, without great and expensive toil.

Appius Claudius, better versed than his immediate successors in the laws of hydraulics, discerned that this Way, built amid stagnant waters, ought not to rise much above their level. The Appian Way was consequently, in flood-tide, temporarily submerged, but its slight elevation favored the passage of the water to the sea, or rather to the host of lakes which doubtless connect with the sea underground, as they discharge little on the surface. The directors of the works, after the days of Claudius, to relieve this temporary difficulty, elevated the road, but, while making it at all times passable, fell into a new difficulty. This route, raised five or six feet by Trajan, and several feet more a few centuries later by King Theodoric, was pierced at intervals by arches, under which the waters from the Apennines escaped seaward. These waters, which in time of inundation easily passed over the old road, were now held in by the dam raised by a want of foresight and ill-considered attempts to im-

prove. The waters, instead of escaping, stagnated, spread, and rose, and the evil sought to be arrested was but increased. It was at its zenith when Pius VI resolved to attack it at its source. He first demolished the successive layers of stone that covered the works of the ancient Romans. Inscriptions, spared by time and the elements, revealed the time of their construction and the names of the authors. The genuine Appian Way was at last reached by rejecting the errors of Trajan and Theodoric.

This road was found still furrowed deeply by the chariot-wheels of the republic, perhaps by triumphal cars—sacred traces which revived noble recollections. On this venerable foundation Pius VI constructed a new road to Terracina, the last city of his States on the south. The kingdom of Naples continued it to the famous Capua. Some years after, this noble road, entirely completed, was thrown open to travel, and became one of the most admirable improvements of modern Italy.

They were not satisfied with achieving this great work; a great canal was opened through the marshes to the lake of Fogliano, which is separated from the sea by a mere tongue of land. Thousands were employed in these labors from the month of October, 1778, and the next year a large tract was ready for cultivation.

Meanwhile the first enthusiasm of the Romans had cooled, and this year it was succeeded by murmurs. Voluntary subscriptions did not cover the enormous expense; resort was had to loans, and the work did not seem to justify the ruinous efforts. The revolutionary spirit of the age had spread even to some powerful personages in Italy. Popes, it was said, should not undertake such great works. The enterprise was decried even by those who had contributed, disappointed to see so little apparent benefit resulting. The indignant

pope was only confirmed in his design. Some scenes occurred which displayed his character, easily excited, but always just and beneficent.

A priest of Terracina, a good ecclesiastic, but a poor courtier, went to Rome to seek a prebend. Having crossed the district which absorbed the pontiff's attention, he could give recent and certain intelligence. To the questions of Pius he replied, without disguise, that the drainage made no progress, and that the money spent was money lost. "Money lost!" cried the provoked pope. "What! do you come to brave us in our very palace!" This was a thunderbolt for the poor priest. He fainted and was carried out. When he came to himself, he saw no course but to return to Terracina in all haste. He was in utter despair, and felt as if he was to leave Rome under the ban of the Holy Father. What was his surprise to see a papal functionary enter, bearing not only a brief for the prebend which he had solicited, but also an order to return to His Holiness as soon as possible! The second interview was less stormy than the first, but was doubtless more useful to the pope. He derived information which he turned to account.

Human effort avails little, however, against the caprice of the elements. Towards the close of 1779, extraordinary inundations swept away a part of the works, entailing incalculable loss, and in part justifying the prediction of the priest of Terracina. No one durst impart the fatal news to Pius. It reached him modified and disguised; alarming enough, however, to make him resolve to visit the spot in person, so as to see the extent of the damage and apply a remedy.

It was then rare enough for a pope to leave his see. Pius VI had already once visited the Pontine marshes; no one expected a second visit.

Except the visit of Benedict XIII to Benevento, and the

first journey of Pius, no pope, since the days of the former, had been farther from Rome than Castel Gandolfo. Pius rose from a sick-bed, and, in spite of physicians and courtiers, set out with a very small retinue. This mark of his taste for simplicity and aversion to useless display should have excited applause—it was answered by satires. His economy was ascribed to meanness, his absence of pomp was a want of dignity. At Albano he was received by Cardinal de Bernis, and the city gates bore flattering inscriptions. At Velletri, his first stopping-place, the dean of the Sacred College, Cardinal John Francis Albani, paid the noble traveller every kind of homage, to which he was not insensible. On leaving Velletri, he was escorted by a squadron of cuirassiers of his guard to Terracina, where he was to stop. The neighboring cities sent detachments of soldiers to prevent disorders among the crowds who flocked to witness his passage, both from his own States and from Naples. During his few days' stay at Terracina, he resided in a private house. The new prebendary hastened, with streaming eyes, to kiss his benefactor's feet.

Pius VI thence visited the Pontine marshes, not many miles from that city towards Rome. Current affairs admitting of no delay were despatched at each post, important affairs deferred till his return. After an absence of twelve days, Pius returned to his capital well pleased. They are said to have shown him only the works that gave brilliant hopes, and to have concealed the damage; but this is not easy to credit. As a conscientious man, he went to see the damage done, and Pius VI was not one to be easily deceived; he had studied the question when treasurer-general. In an earnest and honorable desire to know the truth, he asked the different hydraulists presented to him, where lay the danger, miscalculations, local resistance, want of communication

with the sea, low spots where fever had become naturalized. A man of business, a wise administrator, a sovereign jealous of his glory, and who fears to compromise it, must easily, by such questions, see some truth, and Pius certainly did. He distributed gold and silver medals to the workmen, saying: "My good friends, all hearts must rejoice at our joy."

Going and returning, he travelled, with a satisfaction easy to appreciate, that fine road which, after so many centuries, had been restored by his exertion, and lost its name of Appian Way in that of Via Pia. This road, still the admiration of travellers, is perhaps one of the most useful results of all his care and labor; for, since that time, the complete drainage of the marshes has been regarded as impossible, inasmuch as the water which covers them is lower than the sea, and as they are fed by streams incessantly flowing from the mountains.

To obviate the difficulty, Pius VI dug a new canal, and formed on the spot the design of building a new city on the ground rescued from the water. A plan was drawn up. The city would have contained ten thousand hearths, was to be a perfect square, crossed by a wide canal, in which all the neighboring waters would empty. This canal was to empty in the sea, after being a means of transport to inland commerce. The exhausted state of the pontifical treasury obliged Pius VI to defer this project.

On his return he visited the lake of Fogliano, and the quarries of marble recently discovered in a mountain on the seaside. On his way he examined the sumptuous edifices which he was adding to the abbey of Subiaco, which he had possessed before ascending the pontifical throne. All that belonged to him, near and afar, was to be enriched and embellished. He had at once ordered a fine church, seminary, and palace to be erected at Subiaco.

During this voyage his attention was called to the precious ruins which seem to have belonged to the ancient city of Suessa Pometia, and to the edifices of all kinds that line the Appian Way. Among these ruins were found trunks of statues, inscriptions, bas-reliefs, articles of furniture—some disfigured by time, others still intact. These the pope ordered to be carefully collected for the museum of his projected city.

An unforeseen trial awaited Pius on his return. Naples, envying him the fruit of his solicitude, one of his claims to glory, one of the results of his courage, now through the Marquis de la Sambuca, worthy heir of Tanucci's malignity towards the Holy See, was drawing up documents to maintain the claim of Naples to the great part of the Pontine marshes and the city of Terracina. Naples was envious of the rich fields to rise from the Pontine marshes—the new city, the port of Terracina, offering a sure haven to small vessels, and perhaps rivalling Naples.

When the deduction of Naples finally appeared, the pope was filled with consternation, and the archives were consulted to refute the absurd claim, which was based on the idea that the King of Naples was entitled to all waters flowing from his territory, with the territory on them.

Pius VI paid a third visit to this district. This time he returned much dissatisfied. He continued the works, and then suspended them in consequence of a complaint of Cardinal Orsini. They were resumed, but opinions published by the learned discouraged those most interested, and no one spoke of the matter without impatience.

Yet, not to be unjust, the restoration of the Appian Way as a means of communication between Rome and Naples was itself a great work, and one to improve all the district through which it passed. Before its restoration the road to

Naples was a long detour through Foglia, by the foot of the Apennines, Sermoneta, and Piperno, to Terracina. It was then the glory of Pius VI to have restored a route in some sort imperishable, amid daily increasing local difficulties, inefficient resources, and the ill will of many of his people, who subsequently admitted the greatness of the benefit.

"No pope," says De Prony, a French engineer sent by Napoleon I to examine the Pontine marshes, "no pope undertook for the Pontine marshes works to compare with those executed between 1777 and 1796, by the orders and under the immediate direction of Pope Pius VI, who had this great and noble work at heart, and expended about two millions of dollars. To him is due the restoration of the Appian Way, the ancient bridge across the marshes, the superb canal beside the road, the vast storehouses of Terracina, and a great many other edifices for civil and religious purposes. Every work of his had a monumental character, from church and palace to the simple post-house. Unfortunately, his first attempts at drainage, based on very specious and seductive plans, not devoid of merit, but too generalized, resulted only in failure.

"Great labors were executed, but disappointment only equalled the hopes conceived. Then, men were loath to take and follow other plans, either because the connection between the modification and the original plan, as well as the results, was not as evident then as now, or because the additional works required by these corrections condemned too plainly the first errors and entailed new and ruinous expense; hence they were undertaken and continued with regret, although correct enough in principle.

"The drainage works then executed under Pius VI, in a hydraulic point of view, are in general great and often imperfect sketches: and among those not even sketched are

some of the highest importance (those, for example, having reference to the waters called superior), without controlling which no permanent amelioration of the Pontine soil can be expected. These were not comprised in the primitive plan, because, under the systematic views to which I have alluded, they were deemed useless.

"Notwithstanding these observations, I am none the less convinced that Pius VI has acquired, by his improvements in the Pontine marshes, an immortal right to public gratitude, and that if a perfect drainage is ever effected, a notable part of the glory of the success will be due to that sovereign pontiff. This glory will be based not only on the important and decisive experimental works performed at such great cost, but also on the sensible diminution of the unhealthy character resulting from his operations."

Prony, whose competence to judge of the matter cannot be disputed, and who was addressing one whose position called for no flattery to the sovereign pontiff, thus solidly establishes the claim of Pius to glory for his great work.

When Joseph I, King of Portugal, died in 1777, the pope pronounced an allocution before his cardinals in a secret consistory. This document was not at first printed, for fear of eliciting protests from Lisbon against some passages which reproached the king, probably in regard to the Jesuits and his extravagant confidence in Pombal, with having done "less well" on several occasions during his reign. But the pious Queen Mary, who succeeded her father, making no remonstrance, the allocution was printed.

On the 3d of July, in the same year, the pope confirmed the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament of Benevento in its right of annually delivering a malefactor under sentence of death.

By a brief of December 12, 1605, Paul V had granted to

the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament of the courageous city of Benevento the right of delivering every year one condemned to death. This faculty was held valid only for a specified class of criminals, and whom perhaps a law, which it was not desirable to revoke, visited with too severe a penalty; it required, too, on the part of the family of the victim, a formal and public consent given freely, and from no hope of pecuniary return.

Benedict XIII and Benedict XIV, acknowledging that services of various kinds rendered to religion by the confraternity—which sought out those who died on the Campagna, which assisted the plague-stricken, distributed dowries to maidens, and everywhere gave examples of beneficence, courage, self-denial, contempt for life in saving their fellowmen—were worthy of a striking recompense, had likewise confirmed this privilege.

Pius VI, in his turn, deemed it just to sanction anew this extraordinary privilege. In the mind of the pontiff, respect for the views of his predecessors was supported also by a desire to reward the people of Benevento for their fidelity during the recent occupation of the town by foreign troops, under the reigns of Clement XIII and Clement XIV. The city of Benevento, on this occasion, ordered rejoicings throughout the whole duchy, and, by its acclamations, thanked the pontiff who re-extended the right of pardon, and shared it nobly with subjects bound for so many centuries by ties of affectionate devotion to the pontifical government.

The custodians of the Holy Land, belonging to the order of Minor Observantines (Reformed Franciscans), continued to welcome charitably all pilgrims visiting Jerusalem. Pius VI addressed apostolic letters to these worthy religious to compliment and encourage them.

In consequence, considerable alms were sent to Jerusalem from Lisbon, Madrid, Paris, Vienna, Munich, and Warsaw.

On the 19th of December, 1778, Pius VI pronounced an allocution on the retractation of Justin Febronius.

Gustavus III, King of Sweden, wrote to Pope Pius VI a letter full of respect, in which that prince announced that he had granted the Catholics of Stockholm permission to erect a public church and give missions freely throughout his States. The church built in the southern suburb was attended, in 1792, by a Bolognese priest of piety and learning. All faithful to the Roman faith gave considerable alms for the expenses of divine worship, as in the days of the primitive Church.

The Catholic Armenians of Constantinople solicited permission to open a church in that city. The schismatic Armenians then began a persecution against the Catholic Armenians, who till then had been forced to celebrate their sacred ceremonies in the churches of these very Armenian dissidents. The latter, in concert with the Turks, committed a thousand horrible excesses on the faithful. The courts of France and Spain, warmly urged by the pope to stop such massacres, obtained an alleviation of these miseries.

New fears then afflicted the heart of Pius VI. The bishops of the Church of England, conspiring against the Catholics, brought into the House of Lords a list of their diocesans reputed to be Catholics. It was bitterly remarked that whereas, in 1717, only one thousand five hundred were reckoned in the diocese of Chester, at the present moment there were no less than twenty-seven thousand two hundred and twenty-eight. Lord Ferrers asked a repeal of all acts in favor of the Catholics, and a revocation of all privileges granted to them; but his bill did not pass, and the anti-Catholic agitation ceased for a time.

It seemed then that Asia, better advised, was about to welcome religion, banished from some parts of Europe. King Solomon of Imérel, sovereign of a kingdom bordering on Georgia, and a tributary of Constantinople, at the instance of the Propaganda, granted the Catholic missionaries entire liberty to preach in his States.

Pius VI showed great firmness in preventing invasions on the rights of the Holy See; at the same time great facility in granting all just petitions laid before him. Catharine II had maintained the Jesuits in White Russia, notwithstanding the brief of suppression. Pius VI made no resistance, it is even asserted that he it was who stimulated Catharine's zeal on this occasion. Accordingly, numbers of persons arrived in that province who, without protest on the part of the Holy See, received the habit of Saint Ignatius. The judge of Potesko even solicited the degree of lay brother.

When, in 1773, Clement XIV published the brief of suppression, a part of Poland had passed under the Russian yoke. Still the brief was not published there. The Jesuits residing there remained in the same state; they abstained, however, from receiving novices, and persevered in this course till Monsignor Sieztrzencewicz, Bishop of Mohilow in partibus, their diocesan bishop and vicar apostolic in Russia, permitted their reception—authorized to give this permission by a decree of Pope Pius VI, August 9, 1776. That pope had already, on the 13th of January, 1776, approved and confirmed the Fathers. The enemies of the society were alarmed to see it still preserve an asylum in a corner of Europe, and, fearful of seeing it return to other countries from which it had been expelled, complained bitterly to the pope of the non-execution of his predecessor's brief. These complaints, supported by powerful and repeated instances, obliged the pope to notify his nuncios that the Bishop of Mohilow, in permitting

the reception of novices, had exceeded his powers, and the nuncio at Warsaw had orders to inform the bishop of the fact.

This retractation, made with repugnance by Pius VI, did not produce the result desired by the enemies of the Jesuits. The Empress Catharine openly expressed her determination of preserving the Jesuits who were in her States, and she represented to the pope that to suppress them was to deprive her Catholic subjects of the assistance which they received from those religious, especially in the essential matter of education; and that it was not easy to replace them in a country where educational establishments were very few in number. Nay, more, by virtue of an order of that empress, which became authentic by the approbation of the Bishop of Mohilow, the Jesuits assembled in a general congregation in the college of Polocz, and on the 17th of October following elected Father Gerniewicz vicar-general. He and his successors soon found themselves at the head of six houses, containing one hundred and seventy-two members.

The elector palatine having solicited power to establish in Bavaria a new language of the order of Malta, Pius VI granted the necessary permission, and appointed Monsignor Bellisomi, nuncio at Cologne, to proceed to that electorate and take necessary measures to found two grand priories and thirty commanderies.

On the 16th of November, 1781, the pope published statutes for the order of Saint Paul the First Hermit, of the congregation of Portugal.

At the close of 1781 Pius VI called to Rome Count Louis Onesti, son of one of his sisters, empowered him to assume the name of Braschi, assigned him a suitable revenue, and, after creating him Duke of Nemi, united him in marriage with Donna Constantia Falconieri, of one of the first families

in Rome. He also summoned another nephew, whom he wished to make a cardinal.

We come now to the year 1782, which will be memorable in the pontifical annals on account of the event which we are about to relate. Innovations in ecclesiastical discipline were daily established in the States of Joseph II, Emperor of Germany.

This prince, after the death of his mother, the Empress Maria Teresa, had instituted reforms among religious; he had ordered them not to obey their superiors, suppressed convents, seized their revenues, and forbidden orders to receive any novices. He next granted greater toleration to Protestants; drew up a statement of the revenues of the clergy, and would not suffer any application to the pope for marriage dispensations. He prescribed the imperial placet for bulls, briefs, and rescripts coming from Rome. Bishops were forbidden to confer holy orders; in fine, a host of regulations changed or abolished all the usages practised by the Roman Church; the most trifling customs were abrogated by formal law; and the prince set himself up as a reformer beyond control; confraternities were abolished, processions suppressed; the number of Masses and form of benedictions were alike regulated. He even went so far as to prescribe the number of candles to be burned during the offices.

Frederic the Great not inaptly called the emperor "my brother, the Sacristan." These innovations excited discontent. Several bishops remonstrated, but the emperor would not listen to them. Cardinal Bathyany, primate of Hungary, demonstrated to the emperor that his decrees exceeded the power of civil authority. This intrepid cardinal showed that the Church could not submit willingly to such changes, which diminish the respect due religion, and the authority

of the Roman court. From every quarter came pouring in protests and remonstrances.

The Roman court in vain endeavored to arrest these murmurs. The Holy Father thought that his presence and his words would be more potent than letters: he resolved to proceed to the spot where the evil existed, like some of his predecessors, who in similar circumstances had obtained, by their presence, the legitimate satisfaction which princes could not refuse. Pius VI communicated his project to Cardinal Albani, dean, and Cardinal Gerdil, two members of the Sacred College for whom he had a singular esteem. One of them showed His Holiness how much he would have to contend with in this undertaking. "Well," replied Pius VI, "let us combat, but with the arms of mildness and Christian charity." Cardinal de Bernis and many other cardinals opposed the step, fearing that it would lead to satires and derision on the part of the wicked and freethinkers, in case his efforts should, as was not improbable, fail to obtain the desired modifications. To this the pontiff replied with apostolic courage: "We will go whither duty calls, in the same spirit that we should go to martyrdom in the interest of religion. Rejoicing to defend it, the successors of Saint Peter did not hesitate to expose their lives. It is not lawful for us to abandon the bark of the Church amid the most violent tempests. It matters little that a perverse world turn us into derision; the Gospel teaches us that we should even appear as fools for Christ's sake."

On the 9th of February, 1782, Pius VI informed Joseph II of his intended visit, without specifying its object. Still, the emperor wrote to His Holiness that he had taken an irrevocable step in all the changes made, and that in these measures he would never give way. The Holy Father persevered in

his project, and so informed the Sacred College in the consistory of the 25th of that month.

The allocution pronounced on the occasion was as follows:

"Venerable Brethren:

"Our apostolic ministry now requires us to depart to Vienna; we are going to undertake this journey, and leave you for a time. We communicate to you this intention, and have assembled the Sacred College, as required by the affection we entertain for you, and the mutual tenderness of our souls.

"While announcing this to you, we will state, in order that you should not remain in ignorance, why we shall be attended by no one of you in this journey to share the consequent labors. It is, in the first place, because we shall travel with but little pomp, as becomes an ecclesiastical personage. We have resolved to take on ourselves alone all the embarrassment and inconvenience consequent on the accomplishment of our resolution; and, moreover, it would be disagreeable to have to make a choice and reject some, when we entertain the same love, esteem, and tenderness for all.

"We inform you, venerable brethren, that we have given letters, in form of brief, by which we declare that the Curia, our ministers and those of the Holy See, after our departure, shall remain in the same position as now. A document grants them the faculties ordinarily reserved to ourselves alone, and we are convinced, knowing their individual fidelity, that no one will abuse them.

"We reflect that the necessity of dying is imposed on all, that the day of death is uncertain, and that daily dangers threaten human life. We have consequently deemed it right

to omit no care to secure the assembly of the Roman Comitia at Rome, should any peril cut off our life.

"Finally, we beg you earnestly to preserve now in an especial manner the same sentiments that you have often expressed. Do not cease to commend us during our absence to Almighty God, our Lord Jesus Christ, his most glorious Mother, and the blessed apostle Saint Peter. Attend our journey by your vows, that our projects thus planned be blessed of God, and that the desired objects of our toils and watches be obtained by the effect of his mercy."

The pope soon after confided the ring of the fisherman to Cardinal Conti. He then called to him his two nephews Braschi, and gave them a sealed paper containing his will. When confiding it, he said: "Here is our last will, in case we die on this journey. Remember us in your prayers."

His Holiness then ordered a very fine triple crown to be prepared for him to carry, with two rich crosses, which were preserved in the Castle of Sant' Angelo; four cardinals' hats; one thousand gold medals, each worth fifteen Roman crowns, struck expressly, and bearing on one side Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and on the other the head of the pope.

On the 27th of February he heard Mass in Saint Peter's, and prepared to set out with four carriages and two chaises. In the first carriage, drawn by six horses, the pope was to travel with Monsignor Marcucci, vicegerent of Rome, and Monsignor Contisini, his almoner. On descending to the Vatican square, the Holy Father found Paul, Grand Duke of Russia, subsequently emperor, and then travelling in Italy with the grand duchess, under the name of the Count and Countess du Nord. After exchanging compliments, the prince begged the Holy Father to accept a pelisse sewed by the Empress Catharine's own hand, adding that this pelisse

would be useful to the pontiff in the climate of Germany, severer than that of Italy. The Holy Father accepted this gift with lively satisfaction.

The assemblage of Romans in the square increased; for a long time they had been unaccustomed to see their sovereign travel. The pope reached Cesena, his native place, on the 5th of March. There, laying aside the strict formality of etiquette, he invited all his kindred to his table. Here, too, was presented to him Count Zambeccari, senator of Bologna, charged with the Spanish interests in the legation, who handed the pope a letter from his sovereign, Charles III. The Catholic king wrote in his own hand: "I envy the emperor the happiness he will enjoy of possessing Your Holiness at Vienna. It would be my desire to enjoy a like felicity, and I wish Your Holiness the accomplishment of all your desires."

At Bologna, Pius VI met the Infante Don Ferdinand I, Duke of Parma, come expressly to present his respects to the Holy Father. There was so great a crowd around the carriage that the guards were obliged to keep them back; but Pius said: "Let my children approach; do not repulse them."

From Bologna, by the way of Cento, the august traveller entered Ferrara, where he was received by the cardinal-legate Caraffa, and Monsignor Mattei, then archbishop, and created cardinal by the pope on his return. An hour after the pope's arrival, a noble Hungarian guard came up, to announce that, by the emperor's orders, apartments for His Holiness's reception had been prepared in the imperial palace, although Pius VI had written that he wished to stay at the nunciature. His Majesty also asked when he might expect His Holiness in Vienna. The pope replied that he hoped to arrive there on the 18th, in company with Cardinal Caraffa, legate at Ferrara, and Monsignor Mattei, cardinal in petto since 1779.

On the 10th the Holy Father embarked at Lago Scuro, on the Po, where three bucentaurs, seven peotas, and three barks had been prepared to facilitate his crossing and that of his retinue.

At one o'clock at night the pope landed at Chiozza, and was there complimented in the name of the republic of Venice, by the procurators of Saint Mark, Louis Manin and Peter Contarini, who attended him to the frontier of the republic. The pope entered Brenta by the canal of Brontolo, and at La Mira he met the Patriarch Giovanelli, whom he invited into his bucentaur. Thence he glided by the city of Venice, where the pope promised to stop on his return. The bishops of the country and the diplomatic corps residing near the doge came to Mestre to pay their homage to Pius VI.

On the 14th of March, 1782, His Holiness entered Göritz, and there found Count Cobentzel, vice-chancellor of the court, despatched by the emperor to receive the pope, felicitate him, and pay him all the honors due his sacred character.

The pope arrived on the 17th at Leoben, where he was received by the Archduchess Mariana of Austria, who came expressly from her abbatial residence of Klagenfurt.

On the 22d of March the emperor, although troubled with an affection of the eyes, came, with the Archduke Maximilian, to meet the pope two leagues from Neustadt. They descended from their carriage and presented themselves at the door of the pope's to assist the sacred traveller to descend. Pius, embracing the emperor warmly, left him no time to make any act of profound respect, addressing him with admirable and gracious cordiality. The emperor invited the Holy Father to enter a two-seated carriage, and took his seat on the left, to pay due honors to his new guest. At Neustadt refreshments were offered to the pope, and they then started for Vienna, through two immense lines of peo-

ple and more than eight thousand carriages, containing all the better class of residents of the capital. The apartments of the Empress Maria Teresa had been prepared for Pius VI.

On descending at the palace, the pope found Prince de Kaunitz. Joseph presented him to the Holy Father, saying: "Holy Father, this is our grand chancellor of court and state." The pope replied: "We are glad to see him beside Your Majesty."

This reply is cold, but not discourteous. Some authors assert that Pius VI spoke to the prince of his great age, and laid his hand on his shoulder, adding some words that were not well understood. Pius VI was distinguished for his intellect, and went there to negotiate with a powerful minister. We must believe that the pope, true to his friendly character, did not, the very first day, raise up obstacles in the very affairs he had gone so far to manage. If he did, he acted unwisely.

The emperor conducted his guest to the apartments which he was to occupy. Thence he could pass unremarked to those of the emperor. They could hold interviews without the knowledge of others. The pope was then conducted to a gallery opening on one of the court chapels, in which the Blessed Sacrament had been exposed since morning. At the moment when the pontiff and Cæsar, the heads of the priesthood and the empire, appeared, the Te Deum was intoned.

All Europe had its eyes fixed on Vienna. All eagerly sought to know the result of the pope's negotiations. He had undertaken a voyage painful at his age, and in a season still very cold.

Many reports were current, but nothing certain is known as to what passed. It was, however, remarked that, during the whole period of the stay of Pius VI at Vienna, the most extraordinary changes were not interrupted, notwithstand-

ing the seeming courtesy with which the emperor treated the pope on all public occasions. Letters of the emperor appeared full of menaces against those who had failed to publish his orders on the relations between the different religious. The personages most reprimanded were the Bishop of Göritz, Count de Elding, and the intendant of the province of Carniola.

On the other hand, the pontiff, a constant defender of the rights of the Holy See, did not hesitate to publish a very strong brief, the only one dated at Vienna, in which, with apostolic plainness, he reprimanded the Bishop of Brünn, in Moravia, who had believed himself authorized to throw open convents of religious women. They had been scattered, seeking shelter. The bishop had also taken on himself to absolve Carthusians from their vows.

There is still, as we have said, much obscurity as to the Vienna negotiations. We know, however, that Pius VI, on his return, wrote from Bologna to his nephew, Louis Braschi: "We have obtained of the emperor what we could desire; moreover, we have suppressed the oath prescribed to the bishops in his States, and have granted them faculty for matrimonial dispensations to the third and fourth degrees, and even for a nearer relationship, exacting, however, that they request our assent in such cases. We have obtained several modifications in regard to religious houses for both sexes, and religious toleration; in a word, our presence at Vienna has been very useful for the affairs of the Holy See, and we cannot but rejoice at our journey."

At the moment when Pius VI entered Vienna, an indiscreet minister had asked whether his visit would be a long one. Pius VI, with much presence of mind, replied: "We know well that we are pope, but we do not know that we are a prophet." The unfavorable disposition of the cabinet did not prevent the people from showing their respect for the

Holy See. In the moments which, after grave affairs, he could give to other cares, he showed his accustomed affability by granting audiences to the most worthy personages of the city and to the people. One day a priest invited him to his first Mass. The pope made no reply, but presented himself at the church at the moment when the Mass was to begin. On the 19th of April he held a consistory in the imperial palace, and gave the hat to two prelates, subjects of the emperor, Monsignor de Firmian and Monsignor Bathyany. On this occasion he pronounced an allocution praising the piety and religious sentiments of the emperor.

Before the pope thought of setting out, Joseph presented him a very fine travelling-carriage, a rich cross in brilliants, and a pastoral very delicately worked, as well as many jewels. These gifts were esteemed at more than three hundred and fifty thousand florins. The Holy Father accepted these presents; but, at the same time, he declared that he should never regard them as his property; that he considered them as belonging to the Holy See, as a token of the imperial munificence, and that he desired his successors to make no use of them except on the greatest solemnities of the ecclesiastical year. Not content with this munificence, the emperor presented to the pope a diploma making his nephew, Don Louis Braschi, a prince of the empire, the title descending to his posterity. The Holy Father returned the patent to Joseph with these words: "We do not wish it to be said of us that we are more concerned with the exaltation of our family than the interests of the Church."

The emperor approved the pope's reserve, and the patent remained till further orders in the chancery of Prince Colloredo. The pope felt bound to offer the courts becoming presents, and thus betoken the goodness of his heart and his royal munificence. Joseph wished the pope's portrait; and His Holiness accordingly sat to the celebrated painter, Joseph

Hickel, who was appointed by the emperor to reproduce the features of his sacred guest. Many medals in gold and silver were also struck at Vienna bearing the head of Pius VI.

He had been a month at Vienna; affairs became protracted, and meanwhile the people at all moments sought the pope's benediction. One day he was obliged to bless the people eight times. It was estimated that no less than one hundred and twenty thousand persons assembled at the moment of the pope's departure.

The emperor and the pope then entered the same carriage. At Maria Brünn they separated with the greatest mutual tokens of affection and esteem. That night the pope rested at the celebrated Benedictine abbey of Moelck.

On the 24th of April the Holy Father arrived at Linz, where he was received by Cardinal Firmian, prince-bishop of Passau.

At Haag the pope found the elector palatine, Charles Theodore, Duke of Bavaria. They entered Munich in the same vehicle. The Archbishop of Treves had already arrived. Pius VI spent a week there, and had nothing but praises to express on the splendid reception given to him in that city, styled the little Rome of Germany. Munich was indeed regarded as the city in Germany most devoted to the Holy See, and is so still.

On the morning of May 2 the pontiff, accompanied by the elector palatine, entered the city of Augsburg, so famous in the annals of Lutheranism, and which, seven hundred and thirty years before, had been visited by the holy pontiff Saint Leo IX. There Pius VI was welcomed with great respect, not only by Catholics, but also by Protestants. The Holy Father could not perceive that there was any difference of religion in the city.

Pius VI prepared to return to Rome, and had promised to

pass by Venice, where he was impatiently expected. At Verona he visited the arena, and there from his throne he gave his pontifical benediction to over one hundred thousand Catholics. At Padua he descended at the monastery of Saint Justine, and then visited the university. On the morning of the 15th the Holy Father embarked for Venice in a very rich bucentaur which the doge had built expressly. The pope was attended by the Venetian commissaries Manin and Contarini, Cardinal Buoncompagni, Rezzonico, senator of Rome, Garampi and Ranuzzi, nuncios at Vienna, and other prelates of his retinue. The Patriarch Giovanelli and eighteen bishops proceeded by way of La Brenta to Fusina, to meet the pope. Near the canal of La Zucca the pope was saluted by two hundred cannon, and his entrance offered a spectacle which Venice had never seen equalled, neither on their regattas, nor at the festival of the Ascension, not even indeed at the Marriage of the Sea.

The pontiff, having reached the outskirts of Venice, met the doge, Paul Ranieri, who had come to visit His Holiness. The moment the pope left his galley, he offered him his arm, and then wished to kneel. The pope, without giving him time, raised him and embraced him. During his stay at Venice, the doge gave the pope so many tokens of regard and veneration, and such a friendship was established between them, that the State Inquisitors, displeased at the little consideration shown them individually, took umbrage at the doge's conduct; and immediately after the pope's departure they bitterly reproached their chief for evincing any such sentiments to a foreign sovereign, whose pretensions on other States the republic had at all times disapproved. The doge was reproached with having several times whispered to the pope and often conversed with him privately. Pope Pius, learning this, sent these magistrates, through his

nuncios, gold boxes, which dispelled their fears for the safety of Venice.

After the doge had received the pope in his vessel, they proceeded together towards Venice, with such a fleet of gondolas that the sea seemed to unite with the land. Having entered the great canal at the custom-house, they found the windows richly adorned with drapery. A short time after, they disembarked at the Dominican convent of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, which the pope had preferred to the ample monastery of Saint George Maggiore. They ascended to the apartments assigned to the pope. There the doge pronounced, in a loud voice, his official felicitation, in the presence of all the superior authorities.

Pius VI left Venice on the 19th of May, and proceeded to Ferrara by way of Padua. On the 22d he held a secret consistory, in which he published, as cardinal, the archbishop of that city, Mattei, already created in petto.

At Bologna the pope met the Duke of Parma and the Marquis Santini, ambassadors of the republic of Lucca, and an envoy of the King of Sardinia. At Imola the pope stopped at the palace of his uncle, Cardinal Bandi, where he met his own sister, Julia Onesti.

On the evening of June 8 the pope arrived at Loretto. When he arrived at the post of Prima Porta, near Rome, the Holy Father laid aside his travelling-dress and resumed the pontifical habit which he was accustomed to wear in Rome; and on the 13th of June he re-entered his capital after an absence of three months and seventeen days.

The pope subsequently addressed the Sacred College in an allocution giving an account of part of the acts of his voyage. On this subject a satire, in the form of a petition, was affixed to the praying-desk of His Holiness in Saint Peter's: "What

Gregory, the greatest of the pontiffs, had established, Pius VI, last of priests, destroyed." As soon as the Holy Father read it, he asked for pen and ink, without showing any emotion, and pretending to take it for a petition, wrote, in the form of a rescript, these words, which became the talk of Rome: "The kingdom of Christ is not of this world. He who distributes heavenly crowns cares little for the perishable crowns of earth. Let us give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's."

The memoirs of Jauffret state that Pius VI, during his stay at Vienna, obtained from the emperor some, though slight, modifications in his edicts. The Holy Father wished to preserve all the monasteries; and Joseph, while suppressing what he deemed superfluous, did not destroy any religious order. The emperor, explaining his decree on the bull Unigenitus, forbade it to be discussed in public, while he permitted professors to give their pupils an historical explanation of it. Joseph also declared that the imperial placet which he had prescribed did not apply to bulls on matters of dogma. He permitted applications to Rome for dispensations from impediments to marriage nearer than the third and fourth degrees; he declared that the plan adopted for the censorship of the press did not prevent bishops from offering remonstrances as to any that they deemed injurious. These are the chief points on which Joseph relaxed his vigor, and it will be seen that he yielded as little as possible. The counsels of Kaunitz hardened him to the solicitations of the pope.

After the pope's return to Rome he received information of new changes. The emperor assumed to himself, by edict, the nomination of the bishops in Lombardy, who had from time immemorial been named by the pope; and Pius VI thought it best to yield again in the difficult position.

Joseph, of his own authority, formed a new regulation of the bishoprics of the two States, Lombardy and Austria; he abolished the diocesan seminaries, and established general ones in only five or six cities. He published a decree ordering sacred images to be removed from the churches; he suppressed the invalidating impediments to marriage, and prescribed new ones; he finally permitted divorces in certain cases.

Meanwhile there was at Pavia an assembly of partisans of a proscribed sect, who, like that of Ricci, Bishop of Pistoja, revived the writings of the French appellants, sought to introduce a schism, to abase the Holy See, to restore what they called sound doctrine, and endeavored to propagate in the ecclesiastical régime the same republican ideas and democratic principles that they had introduced into the teaching of philosophy, and that were soon to be attempted in political government.

Pius VI complained more than once of the imprudent protection given to these freethinking theologians, but his remonstrances were unheeded.

Father Natali, driven from Rome, was welcomed in that university, and professed the doctrine of the appellants from the bull Unigenitus. He disseminated their books, which he himself translated into Italian. The pope endeavored, but without effect, to remove him from that university. One who took most part in these innovations was an ecclesiastic, a friend of Monsignor Stock, of the same party, who had been appointed to train in the principles of religion the sons of Maria Teresa. Rauffenstrauch, abbot of Braunau, who succeeded Stock as president of the faculty of theology, outstripped even his predecessor in his unbridled zeal for reform.

We should also remark that, at the moment when the ar-

rival of Pius VI was awaited with religious impatience at Vienna, Eybel, an ex-professor of canon law in that university, one of the men who were infatuated with the new system, and most ardent co-operators in the emperor's projects, attempted to chill this devoted transport of the people, and stifle the sentiments of respect for the Holy See, and veneration for the vicar of Christ. After writing against sacramental confession and other articles of Catholic faith, he this same year (1782) published, from the press of Joseph Kurzbeck, a small work entitled "Quid est Papa?"—"What is the Pope?" This work, bearing the imperial seal, had been scattered in profusion, translated into several languages, even into modern Greek, to propagate everywhere with greater ease the poison it exhaled.

This misguided canonist treated as fanatics the overwhelming majority of the faithful, whom he supposed to present their homage to the Holy Father and their acclamations to the successor of Saint Peter. He made the Church a kind of republic, in which the pope exercised only the functions of president, because he derived his authority only from the body of the republic itself, and possessed no authority except to warn and exhort. The author pretended that bishops had not received less authority than the pope in the government of the Church. He exaggerated their rights, and cited only such monuments of traditions as exalt the episcopal dignity, omitting all passages proving the power of the Holy See.

Pius VI, believing the work, from its insignificant size and the absence of all reason in its pages, to be of no great weight, thought it for a time unnecessary to condemn it; but when he remarked the ardor with which it was disseminated in some countries at the close of 1782 and the following years, and the obstinacy displayed by the enemies of the Holy See in oppressing and degrading the centre of unity,

His Holiness, by his decree of November 28, 1786, condemned and prohibited the work as containing propositions respectively false, scandalous, rash, injurious, schismatic, erroneous, heretical, and other propositions already condemned by the Church. The emperor, convinced that this decree of condemnation would naturally penetrate into the Netherlands, ordered it to be suppressed; and as the nuncio at Brussels, Monsignor Zondadari, and the cardinal-archbishop of Mechlin were accused of having contributed to its diffusion in France, he commanded the former to leave his residence at once, and the latter to proceed at once to Vienna to give an account of his conduct.

The Holy Father had given proofs; he showed by his decree that the authority of the Holy See had always been recognized and invoked. To this tract, created by the spirit of discord, he opposed Saint Cyprian, Saint Chrysostom, Saint Epiphanius, Saint Jerome, Saint Ambrose, Saint Augustine, Saint Optatus of Mileve, and Saint Bernard. They all regarded as profane whoever was not united to the chair of Peter, or heard not its decisions. The pope recalled the uniform teaching of the general councils; he deprived Eybel of the suffrages of the councils of Constance and Bâle, on which he had so unwarrantably sought to rely; he set forth, in the most becoming manner, the most constant doctrine, the surest and best adopted tradition, the most clearly expressed in the councils and writings of the Fathers of the Church. The word of Pius VI became a dogmatic judgment, irrefragable in authority, by the acceptation of the churches of Germany and the Austrian Netherlands, to which his decree was sent, and by the silence of all the other churches, no one of which raised a dissenting voice.

As the spirit of revolt, to obtain its end, often resorts to falsehood, Dr. Plat, a great favorer of Eybel, and promoter

of the reforms of Joseph II in the Netherlands, published in a treatise that the uprising of the seminarians of Louvain had been caused by the decree of Pius VI against Eybel; but on examining the accusation it will be seen that this enemy of the popes was here self-blinded: a single observation repulses the calumny entirely. The decree against Eybel's book is dated November 28, and it is manifestly impossible that it could in those days have been known at Louvain on the 7th of December, the day when the revolution began, no telegraph being then in use.

Amid all these trials, which were to afflict and depress the Holy Father, he experienced great consolation on learning the result of an event favorable to the progress of Catholicism. Gustavus III, King of Sweden, thanked the Holy Father for sending him a prefect apostolic to direct the thirty thousand Roman Catholics residing in Sweden. From the moment that Gustavus Vasa embraced the teaching of Luther, the exercise of Catholic worship had been forbidden. The Holy Father had appointed Monsignor le Clerc de Juigné, Archbishop of Paris, to add also to the mission one belonging to the body of the Sorbonne.

Pius VI, since his return, was not to think only of these things; other cares demanded his attention. Italy and the Pontifical States were ravaged by frightful scarcity. He ordered various measures to relieve and then remove it.

Notwithstanding the great outlays required to satisfy the generous dispositions of Pius VI, and meet the expenses occasioned by the labors in the Pontine marshes, and the erection of an immense sacristy for Saint Peter's, he continued to bestow assiduous care on that vast enterprise. The season being too far advanced, he could not encourage the workmen by his presence at Terracina; but he went almost daily to witness the works at the sacristy.

In 1783 many princes continued to carry out the irreligious alterations which they had initiated, and which deeply afflicted Pius VI.

Charles III, however, of Spain, gave a better example. He desired to remedy several abuses which had been introduced into the administration of some ecclesiastical patrimonies. He would not interfere personally, and applied to the Holy Father, begging him to examine so delicate a matter thoroughly. Then the pope issued a brief, not published till a later day, by which he granted jubilary innovations tending to relieve the poor of the monarchy.

The King of Naples at this time consented to measures not concerted with His Holiness and counselled by inconsiderate courtiers. Monsignor Filangieri, Archbishop of Naples, having died without obtaining the hat, which for three centuries had been granted to the titularies of that diocese, the king named for that see Monsignor Capece Zurlo, Bishop of Calvi. The pope then proclaimed that prelate and created him cardinal, without specifying to whom the nomination was due, for it belonged to the pope alone.

Pius VI could not show equal indulgence as to the filling of over thirty vacant sees in the kingdom of Naples, for the subsisting controversies had not ceased. It was asked whether the pope or the king was to nominate. Twenty-six only of the one hundred and thirty-nine bishoprics in the kingdom were recognized as of royal patronage. The king had given the see of Potenza to Monsignor Andrea Sarao, the author of a work generally considered as infected with dangerous maxims, and belonging to the Jansenist party. The Holy Father refused to accept this nomination, because, according to him, it belonged to the Holy See alone to decide whether the choice of a pastor is good or bad. Sarao finally renounced his errors and recognized the positive authority

of the Holy See. Then the nomination was approved, and half the expense of the bulls remitted.

The Empress Catharine seemed resolved to protect the Catholics in her States, and to continue to afford a protection to the Jesuits. She permitted them to elect a superior-general at Mohilow, as well as other superiors necessary for the better management of their churches.

During one of her journeys, Catharine, witnessing the affection entertained for these religious in White Russia, resolved to give them further proofs of her protection, and even asked a confirmation of the institute. To this Pius VI replied that he could not grant it without displeasing the sovereigns who had solicited the suppression of the society.

However, Catharine wrote to the pope, by Canon Benilawski, an urgent letter, accompanied by a letter of her son Paul, who had been at Rome when the pope started for Vienna. She gave with imposing energy her motives for favoring the Jesuits:

"By upholding these unfortunate Fathers in my States, notwithstanding the ill will of other sovereigns, I but accomplish my duty, because I am a sovereign. I regard them as faithful subjects, useful to the State, and especially not culpable. For my part, I cannot be terrified by cabals and machinations, either on the part of those religious, if any such exist, or on the part of any other ecclesiastical personage who lives under my authority. Under the laws of my empire, no one is persecuted unless on impartial examination there appears just cause, and unless the crime is manifest. Proof of crimes committed by individuals in general of the order suppressed by your predecessor has never fallen under my eyes. Dispel then, Holy Father, all fear from your mind: I take the whole matter on my own person. Your Holiness shall experience no annoyance on this account."

The ambassadors of the powers hostile to the Jesuits, as-

tonished to see Rome about to move in the matter in the name of so great a power, sought by all means to penetrate the negotiations. Pius VI, without hesitation, announced that he had received the categorical letter, and frankly asked them what reply he was to make to the imposing autocrat of all the Russias. Each envoy consulted his cabinet. Several courts had already been diplomatically informed of Catharine's wishes. Each, therefore, knew in advance her desire. The cowardly courts, as timid before power as they had been overbearing to weakness, agreed in replying that they had no intention of tying the pope's hands, and that it was best not to give too much publicity to an incident in a matter to which the powers, engaged with other interests, were unable at the moment to express any lively opposition. Then Pius VI sent to the empress a brief, dated July 24, 1783, whereby, for grave reasons, he maintained the Society of Jesus in the States belonging to Her Majesty.

A few days after, the pope informed the empress in an autograph letter that he was resolved to despatch to the court of Saint Petersburg Monsignor Archetti, nuncio at Venice, to concert orally and establish regularly what she desired.

Catharine approved his determination, and Canon Benilawski, after staying a month and twelve days at Rome, set out for White Russia, with the assurance that on his arrival in Saint Petersburg he should be consecrated by the nuncio as coadjutor of the Church of Mohilow.

Pius VI kept his promise, and, early in July, Archetti, the nuncio, entered the imperial palace. The grand duke met him and presented him at the audience with the empress. She received him with all the honors usually paid at that court to ambassadors of the very highest powers.

An apostolic nuncio was invested with a sacred character

in a schismatic court separated from the Latin Church. This was regarded as a new and unforeseen event. But it was forgotten that Gregory XIII had sent to Russia the celebrated Jesuit Anthony Possevin, with the character of nuncio, and that he was commissioned to invite John Basil, then reigning, to enter into a league with the Pole and the King of Spain against Selim II, great Sultan of the Turks, who had shortly before invaded the island of Cyprus, belonging to Venice. As to the embassy of Archetti, there was this difference, that the Roman court then recognized the imperial title in the person of Catharine and her eventual successors. Till that moment Rome had refused to the Russian princes the title of czar, because it was synonymous with that of Cæsar.

On the 15th of July the nuncio obtained a public audience. He paid a becoming compliment to the sovereign, who replied to him in the most obliging terms. All obstacles being removed, the nuncio consecrated in the church of the Capuchins a Catholic archbishop and three bishops, the empress with all her family witnessing the ceremony. The pallium was then given to the new Archbishop of Mohilow. Then the nuncio, in an allocution, declared that to this archbishop, as the new and natural pastor, belonged the care of the Catholic flock scattered over the immense provinces of Europe and Asia subject to Russia. The number was then probably three millions.

About the same time another Catholic church was consecrated in Saint Petersburg, in presence of the grand duke and duchess, who, in token of their especial respect for the nuncio, presented him an episcopal cross of the value of eighty thousand rubles, and a superb pelisse. To this gift was added a letter addressed to the pope, soliciting the purple for the nuncio; and the pope, notwithstanding the opposition of some courts, granted it to him some time after-

wards. The empress at the same time asked that Rome should send a nuncio to reside permanently at the capital. The Jesuits had the direction of all ecclesiastical affairs. Every day, by order of the princess, new seminaries were founded. In fine, it was decreed that the general of the Jesuits should enjoy at Saint Petersburg the honors granted at Madrid to the generals of the Dominicans and Franciscans, who were considered as grandees of Spain.

Amid the care of his apostolic ministry, Pius VI continued to embellish his capital and labor for the good of his subjects. The Pontine marshes had been again inundated by the continued rains, and in consequence of the neglect of engineers in charge of the works, breaches were made which required restoration. For the fourth time Pius VI visited the province, and on the spot saw, beyond all power of deceit, that the damage was not as great as calumny had made it. He prepared, therefore, to return to Rome, whither the elector palatine, Charles Theodore, whom the pope had seen at Munich, had just arrived again. His Holiness had been so well pleased with the hospitality he had received from that prince that, in an impulse of heartfelt gratitude, he gave him apartments in the Vatican.

Meanwhile the inventive genius of Pius VI gave rewards to all explorations of the ancient site of Rome. A prodigious quantity of statues, bas-reliefs, vases, urns, and inscriptions were discovered. The most precious objects were transported to the Pio-Clementine Museum, and arranged by John Baptist Visconti, father of the celebrated Ennius, who daily rendered this magnificent depository of the fine arts more wonderful.

The new sacristy erected at the Vatican was opened for use in 1784. The same year the public roads were repaired, especially that to the mountain of Viterbo, which was often

unfit for travel. Immense hydraulic works were also continued and concluded on the Tuscan frontier. To meet these expenses required a loan of three million from the Genoese. When the pope proposed it to the Sacred College, no cardinal spoke but one, who asked what necessity there was for spending so much money. The other cardinals approved the expense.

On the 1st of June, in the preceding year, Pius VI solemnly beatified Laurence of Brindisi, who had been general of the Capuchins.

Learning that Gustavus III, King of Sweden, had set out for Rome, he sent to the frontiers of the Pontifical States Catenacci, courier to the court, to prepare apartments for the prince. A singular mistake occurred. The Emperor Joseph also wished to surprise the pope by a visit, and left Vienna on the 6th of December. After spending a few days at Florence and Pisa with the Grand Duke Leopold, his brother, he reached the papal frontier before the King of Sweden, who was travelling incognito like the emperor, and under the name of Count de Haga. The courier knew neither sovereign, and taking the emperor for the King of Sweden, announced him as Count de Haga. The emperor rested for an hour at the palace of Cardinal Herzan, his ambassador, then repaired, without any previous intimation, to the Vatican, where, in consequence of the confusion, he was not expected. The pope, recognizing him, welcomed him with lively marks of respect.

After spending an hour together, they proceeded to Saint Peter's. The pope begged his guest to kneel at the papal praying-desk. Joseph declined the honor, saying: "Holy Father, this is not the place for compliments. Permit me to visit the museum."

On the evening of the next day the King of Sweden en-

tered Rome, and with the emperor attended the ceremonies of Christmas night, both dressed as simple officers. Then, kneeling on the right step near the papal altar, they listened to a pious homily which the pope pronounced after the gospel.

After spending a week in Rome, where he was to meet his sister, Mary Amelia, Duchess of Parma, to whom the pope, on returning to Rome, had, through his nephew, Monsignor Braschi, presented the golden rose, Joseph II proceeded to Naples to spend two weeks with his other sister, Mary Caroline. He then returned to Rome, where he had frequent conferences with the pope. A concordat had been prepared, in which the pope conceded, in perpetuity, the right which the Holy See enjoyed, of nominating to the sees and benefices of Lombardy, to be enjoyed by the Emperor Joseph and his successors, as dukes of Milan and Mantua. The emperor then returned rapidly to Vienna, and there pursued his reforms in ecclesiastical matters.

To this epoch must be referred a pontifical act relative to the faculties granted to the seminary of Saint Sulpice, at Paris.

These faculties, dated March 16, 1784, though despatched subsequently, permit the superior, director, and priests of the parish church of Saint Sulpice, at Paris, to give the apostolic benediction to the faithful of the parish in articulo mortis. This right was granted provided the ecclesiastics conformed to the tenor of the letters of Benedict XIV, April, 1747, beginning, "Pia mater catholica ecclesia." The Sulpicians no longer direct the parish, confining themselves exclusively to their pious work of training young Levites for the sanctuary, a work which they continue also in America, at Quebec and Baltimore.

The favor granted by Pius VI was unsolicited, and a sur-

prise to the Sulpicians; it became a reward for the attachment to the Holy See shown by that institution, which enriched the Church with co-operators so learned and long so renowned.

Gustavus III, after spending the carnival at Rome, soon after returned to Naples, and constantly showed the most kindly regards for the person of the Holy Father. It was at a moment when Rome was afflicted with chagrin and humiliation by many courts. Gustavus chose that very moment to complete the erection at Stockholm of a Catholic church, promised to those who had remained faithful in that country. Dr. Oster, of the diocese of Metz, vicar apostolic, had already blessed the church. The Divine Mysteries were celebrated there for the first time at Easter, the Duke of Sudermania, brother to the king, attending in his absence.

During the ceremonies of Holy Week the place of honor was given to Gustavus wherever he went, and he had then the courage to say, although a Lutheran, that Protestants unjustly criticised the sacred functions of the Catholic rite, and that the Holy See acted rightly in investing them at all times with august solemnity. The prince carried his curiosity so far as to witness the ceremony of a profession in a convent of Capuchin nuns, and asked permission to enter that retreat of consecrated virgins.

When the King of Sweden left Rome, he offered the pope as a present three elegantly wrought boxes of brazil-wood, containing two hundred and thirty-two medals, ninety-nine gold and one hundred and thirty-three silver, representing the principal sovereigns and great men of Sweden. This gift, received by the pope with almost enthusiastic pleasure, was placed by him in the Pio-Clementine Museum, beside the other numismatic series previously sent by the King of France and the Empress Catharine; but, by the cruel vicissi-

tudes of invasion, these rich objects, like many similar ones, have disappeared from the museum.

When Gustavus paid his last visit to the Propaganda, that college intended to diffuse over the universe the light of faith, they presented to the prince his eulogy in verse, printed in forty-four ancient and modern languages. When the pope and Gustavus finally parted, they embraced, and desired each other all prosperity. They little knew the fate which awaited them: one was to fall assassinated in a ball-room, in the very heart of his capital; the other, after unheard-of sufferings and insults, was to die in exile in a hitherto Catholic country.

Meanwhile the situation of Ulterior Calabria became every day more deplorable. It was ravaged by cruel earthquakes, which had engulfed whole cities, levelled mountains, and swept away more than seventy thousand people. The treasury of the King of Naples was unable to remedy such ravages; he had recourse to the beneficence of Pius VI. The pope authorized him to employ, in these necessary works of charity, the revenues of several convents which had been destroyed, and which possessed revenues and lands in other parts spared by the scourge.

Pius VI on this occasion experienced new grief. Notwithstanding his favors to the court of Naples, it continued to harass the Holy See by ecclesiastical innovations, as offensive as they were inconsiderate. Cardinal de Bernis, acting as mediator for the pope, proceeded to Naples. The king, or rather his minister, insisted on the royal nomination to all the sees. Pius VI replied: "We cannot and must not adhere to an absolute nomination; the wound would be too cruel. Why not offer some modification? All that we can grant is the nomination of three candidates, among whom we or our successor will choose the most worthy."

A noble example set for Pius by his last predecessors, at

the end of the seventeenth century and during the eighteenth century, was exactly followed at Rome: the new pontiff declared vigorous war on bad books.

On the 17th of November, 1784, he condemned and prohibited a book entitled "Universal Profession of Faith of all Religions: 1784. Dedicated to the understanding of a sound man."

On the 21st of November, 1784, Pius VI condemned a German work entitled "What do the Documents of Christian Antiquity Contain as to Auricular Confession?" another product of the author of the dangerous book, "Quid est Papa?"

The next year it was proposed to the pontiff to confer with the Marquis de la Sambuca, prime minister of Naples, to remove all the difficulties which had arisen between the two courts; but the pope refused the interview, declaring that he would repair to the conference if prefaced by a declaration of consent to the measures which he proposed for the bishoprics. The minister was subsequently succeeded by the Marquis Caracciolo, viceroy at Palermo. Better dispositions could not be expected from a man who had said at London: "If ever I become prime minister of the king my master, I shall know well how to act to make him independent of the grand mufti of Rome."

Caracciolo was considered to be a man of much mind; he had even the reputation of being a statesman. On this occasion he proved that he deserved credit for neither.

Pius VI had long avowed the sentiment of nepotism which he imprudently felt for advancing his family. The princes, catching at this means of flattering the pontiff, loaded his nephews at Rome with tokens of regard.

On the 15th of February, 1785, Pius VI addressed an allocution to one of his nephews, Louis Braschi Onesti, on hand-

ing him the great cross of the order of Saint Maurice and Saint Lazarus, in the name of Victor Amadeus, King of Sardinia, grand master of the order. The pope explained the origin and value of the order, founded in 1684, by Amadeus VIII, Duke of Savoy, in honor of Saint Maurice, chief of the Theban legion. With this order was subsequently blended that of Saint Lazarus, which had an equally illustrious origin.

At that time a congregation of cardinals was deliberating on a petition presented by the Catholic Armenians, subjects of the Ottoman Porte. Having no churches, they sought permission to enter the Armenian churches, subject to the schismatic patriarch, to offer alms and prayers, and celebrate several feasts according to the usage of their ancient calendar. They showed that if this privilege was refused they would be exposed to great dangers and cruel vexations. The petition was accompanied by a learned dissertation on the point, by the Marquis John de Serpos. The affair, however, met with difficulties; the great multiplicity of other matters led to delay, and they obtained the favor which they sought only long after.

The pope gave his attention successively to the affairs of China and North America. It was announced to him that the Emperor of China not only cheerfully tolerated the Catholics in his States, but that he had permitted four public churches to be erected at Peking, to show his deference for the Jesuit Florentine Poirot, a native of Nancy. This missionary, as a mandarin, held the post of secretary for correspondence with Russia. He enjoyed the special confidence of the emperor, who loved painting and viewed with pleasure the works of art produced by this religious, who had learned this art also, while studying theology at the Roman College. He had besought the general to send him to one of the mis-

sions to which only those were despatched who have cultivated one of the liberal arts. The pope, by briefs, encouraged these pacific dispositions and the generous protection accorded by the emperor.

The thirteen colonies of Great Britain in America, which had, since 1775, resisted aggressions on their rights, had now, by the aid of France, secured their liberty and established a republic—the United States of America. Many of the late colonies, in their new State constitutions, cast aside the bigoted penal laws against Catholics, and the Constitution of the United States took from the general government all power of creating a State church or infringing on religious liberty.

Catholics were few and scattered. Maryland, settled by Catholics, and Pennsylvania contained the greatest number and all the clergy. The priests who ministered to these children of the Church were members of the late Society of Jesus, belonging to the English province, and now subject as secular priests to the vicar apostolic of London. The first colony sent out by Lord Baltimore to Maryland in 1632, in the Ark and Dove, was attended by Father Andrew White and other missionaries of the society, who established a mission which has never been abandoned. The Franciscans also labored here for many years, but, at the period in question, had suspended their missions. As is well known, Catholics did not long enjoy in Maryland the freedom which Lord Baltimore established; the Protestants, whom his liberality attracted, soon used their power to deprive the Catholic settlers of all civil rights and to put their worship under the ban of the law. The Jesuits were at one time all carried off to Virginia, and some of them to England, but they soon returned.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, the Catholics ardently

espoused the cause of the colonies, and Father John Carroll, regarded as the leading Catholic clergyman, was highly esteemed by many of the foremost statesmen of the new republic. As the Catholic clergy and people were in a manner abandoned by the vicar apostolic of London, and from political reasons wished a separate ecclesiastical organization, the Maryland clergy solicited the appointment of a superior from among themselves. Pope Pius created Father Carroll prefect apostolic in June, 1784, and as part of the United States had previously belonged to the dioceses of Quebec and Havana, steps were taken to relieve the bishops of those sees of districts to which they could no longer easily extend their care. [It may be remarked in passing that it would be hardly possible to crowd more errors into a paragraph than Artaud has done in what he says on this matter in his work.]

An important lawsuit then attracted attention. The Marquis Charles Ambrose Lepri, who had come to Rome from the valleys of the lake of Como, and there amassed a considerable fortune, converted afterwards into a trust, died at an advanced age, leaving three sons. The last survivor was Amanzio Lepri, who, in the prime of life, renounced the habit of the Pious Schools to assume the cross of brother chaplain in the order of Malta. This old man, weak and inconstant, in a fit of ill humor against his sister-in-law Victoria, widow of the Marquis Joseph, his brother, who left an only daughter, concluded, in 1782, that the trust terminated in him, and made the order of Saint John of Jerusalem his heir. By a special bequest, he left twenty thousand scudi and other property to Louis Braschi, the pope's nephew. By a new will of December 26, of the same year, he made a donation inter vivos to the Holy Father, as Giovanni Angelo Braschi, a private individual, of all his considerable patrimony, valued at a million and a half of Roman scudi, including the jewels,

which alone were estimated at one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, reserving, however, the use during life. In the month of February, 1783, he renounced the right of using it, reserving only a pension of six thousand dollars, payable by those who should take possession in the pope's name.

As soon as the donation to the pope was known in public, four claimants to the trust fund appeared—Ann Mary Lepri, daughter of Marquis Joseph; a cousin, Ambrose Lepri; and two brothers Curti, sons of a sister of Amanzio. The case was brought before the judges of Monte Citorio, the pope declaring that he wished to be considered in the matter simply as a private individual. Monsignor Civia, first civil lieutenant of the auditor of the chamber, held that the trust ended in the person of Amanzio, and he could dispose of the property at pleasure. Meanwhile this rich inheritance, since the donation accepted in 1782, was administered for the Braschis by Monsignor Nardini, who had exercised a great influence in the donation, but was so troubled by scruples that on his death-bed he implored the pope's absolution.

The heirs appealed from Civia's decision to the auditors of the Rota. Pius directed these magistrates, wise and learned men, to act unbiassed by human respect, and to decide in favor of truth and right, declaring that he wished no rights of others sacrificed in his favor. On the 13th of June the first decision of the Rota was annulled; the donation was declared null, the trust still subsisting, and held to pass after Amanzio to the posthumous daughter of Joseph.

Amanzio fell more dangerously ill with a chronic disease, and feeling his end near, showed his regret for what he had done, wrote two letters, one to his sister-in-law, mother of his niece, and the other to his cousin Lepri, asking them to pardon his estrangement, and retracting all that he had said or done. He died in December, and then, to the great aston-

ishment of all, another will was produced, dated August 12, which annulled the famous donation to the pope, although expressly irrevocable. The testator set forth his reasons for making it. They compromised the pope, for it seemed that the donator acted on counsels which he should have distrusted. The pope showed no displeasure, retaining his indifference, and expressing his determination to adhere to the definitive decision of the auditors of the Rota. The adverse parties obtained another decision in their favor, and they then proceeded to a third hearing. Early in December, Monsignor Priocca, lieutenant of Monte Citorio, decided the donation valid; he rejected all exceptions, and especially the last will. The case came up again before the Rota, which decided in favor of Ann Mary Lepri. Then an auditor of the Rota proposed a compromise, which seemed to the advantage of all parties. It was not relished at first. But the Marquis Antici, subsequently cardinal, persuaded the Marchioness Victoria Lepri and her daughter to consent to an act of submission to the pope. They subsequently consented, and in 1788 proceeded to the sacristy of Saint Peter's, and petitioned the pope to compromise.

Pius VI assented. A contract was drawn up, and signed also by five cardinals, Albani, Antonelli, Palotta, Altieri, and Carandini, and sealed by three notaries. By this document four hundred thousand scudi and half the jewels fell to Ann Mary Lepri; the rest of the trust fund, with the private property of Amanzio, was reserved to the Braschi brothers, who bound themselves to indemnify suitably Ambrose Lepri and the Curtis. The pope ordered, moreover, that all their legal expenses should be paid.

Thus ended the famous Lepri case, so much spoken of in Rome, and the subject of so many strange stories abroad. If the pope in this matter did not seem equal to himself, if he

showed too great deference for his nephews, he was so great in his conduct otherwise that this defect may be overlooked in the presence of all the virtues that render this pontiff illustrious. Still, it would have been happier had no such case appeared in these pages.

Dalmatia and especially Spalatro were ravaged by the plague. As they were separated from the Marches by only some seventy or eighty miles of sea, the whole Pontifical States were filled with panic; but the precautions ably adopted by the government prevented the evil from entering the northern provinces. This year the fair of Sinigaglia and the Pardon of Assisi were suspended.

A new misfortune came to add its accumulating power. The Tiber overflowed, rising higher than in 1772, and almost as high as in 1750. Pius VI provided barks, always ready to aid the unhappy inhabitants, whom the rising waters imprisoned in their houses.

Several shocks of earthquake were felt at Frascati, Albano, and other places, inspiring great fears, because they recalled the horrible catastrophe of Calabria. Pius VI sent relief to Terni, Narni, Spoleto, and Rimini, where the first shocks were felt.

The government gave its care to a deaf-and-dumb institution founded on the plan of that of the Abbé de L'Epée, in France, perfected by the Abbé Sicard. The principal benefactor of the institution was the rich advocate, Pascal di Pietro, whose brother was made a cardinal in 1802, and merited so well of the Holy See in the labors which brought about the concordat under Pius VII.

On the 16th of February, 1785, Pius VI, seeing that sickness had diminished the number of members of the Sacred College, made a promotion of fourteen cardinals: (1) Joseph Garampi, of Rimini, born in that city, October 29, 1725, nun-

cio at Vienna, Bishop of Montefiascone; (2) Joseph Doria Pamphili, a Genoese, born November 11, 1751, envoy extraordinary to Madrid, nuncio to Paris; (3) Vincent Ranuzzi, born at Bologna, October 1, 1726, nuncio to Lisbon; (4) Charles Visconti of Pavia, born July 30, 1736, nuncio at Cologne and Lisbon; (5) Nicholas Colonna di Stigliano, Neapolitan, born July 15, 1730, nuncio at Madrid; (6) Gregory Chiaramonti, born at Cesena, August 14, 1742, Benedictine, Bishop of Imola, subsequently Pope Pius VII; (7) Mutius Gallo di Osimo, born April 17, 1721, secretary of the Consulta, Bishop of Viterbo; (8) Paul Massei, of Montepulciano, born September 30, 1712; (9) John de Gregorio, a noble Sicilian, born at Messina, January 27, 1729, auditor of the chamber; (10) John Mary Riminaldi, of Ferrara, born October 4, 1718, dean of the Rota; (11) Francis Carrara, of Bergamo, born November 6, 1719, secretary of the Congregation of the Council; (12) Ferdinand Mary Spinelli, a noble Neapolitan, born November 9, 1728, governor of Rome; (13) Anthony Mary Doria Pamphili, brother of Cardinal Joseph Doria, born at Naples, March 28, 1749, master of the chamber; (14) Charles Livizzani, a noble of Modena, born November 1, 1722, president of Urbino.

New troubles arose in Germany. On the 25th of August, 1786, deputies from various dioceses, in accordance with the electors of Mainz, Treves, and Cologne, and Colloredo, Archbishop of Salzburg, met at Ems, where the practice of the Catholic religion was proscribed, and the Lutheran exclusively permitted. There they held a pseudo-council (conciliabule), against which many other bishops, faithful to the Holy See, at once protested.

The deputies established a project in twenty-three articles, better fitted to create a schism in the Church than give it peace. They decided, or pretended to decide, that Christ

gave the apostles, and the bishops their successors, unlimited power of binding and loosing all persons and in all cases; that consequently they should no longer recur in any case to Rome, their immediate superiors possessing all right. All exemptions of religious not confirmed by the empire were annulled. With the inconsistence usual in religious fanatics and reformers, they ascribed to the civil power an authority in ecclesiastical matters which they denied to the vicar of Christ. They decreed that religious should not depend on foreign superiors; that every bishop should dispense in cases reserved to the Holy See; that religious should be relieved from their solemn vows; that no religious were to be received into houses of men under twenty-five, or of women under forty years of age; that no quinquennial indults should be solicited from Rome—that is, a five years' authority to give dispensations for marriage. All dispensations asked from any but the bishop were to be null. The bulls of popes were to be obligatory only when accepted by the bishop. All nunciatures were to be suppressed. The bishop's oath to the pope was to be abolished. If the pope refused to confirm the bishops, they would find in ancient discipline means of preserving their office under the protection of the emperor!

In these articles the imprudent archbishops implored the emperor's authority, without noticing their extravagant contradiction in refusing submission due to the legitimate superior of bishop and of Cæsar. The four archbishops adopted these articles. Then they endeavored to draw the other bishops of Germany to their side. But the latter, seeing the fetters prepared for them, manfully resisted, both in writing and by open opposition. The four dissenting bishops adhered to their plan, and began to put in practice in their diocese the regulations adopted at Ems. They no longer applied for the quinquennial indults, and granted the dispensations which

they and their successors had so long solicited from the Holy See. Yet they were not ignorant that the Council of Trent, declaring null all marriages contracted within certain degrees, left to the pope, as guardian of the canons, the care of dispensing in fit cases, so that the right, by the admission of a general council, belonged exclusively to the sovereign pontiff. The archbishops could not therefore arrogate to themselves this right without opposing that general council, and without troubling the security of marriage, and consequently the repose and tranquillity of society.

At this moment the validity of the sacraments and the sanctity of the conjugal union were in question. Pius VI deemed it no time for silence; and he ordered his nuncio, Pacca, residing at Cologne, to warn the parish priests of the three ecclesiastical electors, by a circular bearing date November 30, 1786, that the archbishops in regard to marriage dispensations had no faculties, except such as were conferred by the Holy See in the quinquennial indults, frequently thitherto solicited by those prelates.

The Elector of Cologne was the one who showed most opposition to Pacca's circular, treating it as an infringement on his episcopal rights; and he complained not only to his brother, the Emperor Joseph II, but also to the Holy Father himself. Pius replied on the 20th of January, in a brief declaring that the nuncio had issued the circular by his order. He also showed that the general usage of the Church and the decisions of the councils reserved to the pontiffs alone the right of dispensing in certain cases; this was confirmed, too, by received usage at Treves, Mainz, and even at Cologne. The elector of the last city had repeatedly solicited such indults as he now pretended to consider as useless.

The Holy Father also reproached the elector with the conduct he had thought fit to hold towards the nuncio, whom

the elector had declined to receive; and he exhorted the elector not to join the enemies of the Church in such calamitous times.

The archduke elector replied by unmeaning protestations of attachment, which were followed by no action and no proof. He resolutely upheld his pretensions, which his two colleagues nevertheless abandoned. The Elector of Treves, brother of the pious mother of Louis XVI, was one of the first to return to the path of duty.

This prince of the house of Saxe solicited indults for his diocesans, because his spirit of religion opened his eyes to the real object of the authors of the new code of discipline; and he solicited from the pope sanatoria, to give validity to his unauthorized dispensations. The Elector of Mainz, who had at first warmly entered the league, also sought dispensations, renewed his intercourse with the nuncio, presented Monsignor de Dalberg as coadjutor, and promised the pope to leave things in the position they were previous to the Congress of Ems.

The sole adherents of the opposition were the archbishops of Cologne and Salzburg, who presented to the Diet of Ratisbon memorials in favor of their congress, and particularly against the nunciatures. The Roman court replied by another memorial, presented at the same diet.

The intrigues excited by the spirit of discord soon vanished before events much more afflicting. The troubles in Brabant, the death of the Emperor Joseph II, and still more the French Revolution, destroyed the league of Ems, and the four archbishops who had protected it expiated, in the spoliation of their States and the loss of their temporal power, and even of their sees, suppressed by that victorious force, their mad pretensions against the peace of the Church and the rights of its head; and they bewailed in exile the

faults they had committed by not discovering in season the pitfall into which they had been lured.

At the moment when the ecclesiastical electors, in concert with several bishops, seemed to declare a war of jurisdiction on the Holy See, many other bishops of Germany and Flanders—among others, the bishops of Spires, Fulda, Hildesheim, Würzburg, Paderborn, Liège, and Ratisbon—intrepidly maintained the rights which the Roman court had enjoyed for so many centuries, without in any way compromising or violating, as those prelates so loudly averred, the majesty and power of the German body.

It was then seen that the opinion of these bishops was approved in other countries. Frederic William, King of Prussia, a Protestant prince warmly attached to the religion of his predecessors, and as jealous as any other of his rights of sovereignty, intimated to Monsignor Pacca that he was fully at liberty to exercise all ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Prussian States, in the same manner as was done under his predecessor Frederic II.

Before proceeding further, we will mention some acts of the reign of this pontiff which also belong to the year 1787.

On the 20th of May Pius VI confirmed a donation in favor of the Syrian patriarchs. Ignatius Michael Giarve, Patriarch of Antioch for the Syrians, had acquired on Mount Libanus, in a place called Darnon, a monastery called Saint Mary Liberatrix, and he had given it to his successors in the patriarchate. The pope hastened to testify to Monsignor Giarve how greatly this noble example exalted in the East the glory and interests of Catholic worship.

Pius VI was strongly attached to his kinsman, Cardinal Chiaramonti, with whom he maintained a private correspondence. All favors solicited by Chiaramonti were instantly granted without difficulty.

The city of Imola needed a hospital; on the 10th of July Pius VI yielded to the request of Chiaramonti, and permitted him to inaugurate a beautiful hospice, which the city endowed. The pope sent from his private purse a considerable donation, and took the occasion to praise highly, in a brief, the prudence, integrity, and fidelity of Chiaramonti, as well as his zeal for religion and ability in the management of affairs. These felicitations of Pius VI, addressed to a cardinal who was to be his successor, may be remarked by history. The praise was all true; nor was Pius VII ever better appreciated. It was only in ability for the management of affairs that he showed himself deficient; but he was well and duly dispensed by the judicious choice he made in selecting as his prime minister the illustrious Consalvi, one of the most renowned statesmen of the early part of the nineteenth century. It was not Consalvi who compromised the authority of the Holy See, which no human effort could defend against the formidable giant who ruled Europe, and whose authority was arrested only by the seacoast of Britain; but it was Consalvi who, at the favorable moment, restored the authority of Rome as it had been before the deluge roused by the French Revolution.

On the 27th of November, 1787, Pius VI promulgated a bull on the better government of the Holy Land. The bulls of protection published by his predecessors are enumerated, and the supreme authority of Rome establishes new laws as to the mode of electing, authorities, officers, the administration, and the fathers discreti, who form the council of the custos-general.

At the close of the same year the examination of a work not formally condemned till 1788 was begun. It was entitled "Second Catholic Memoir, containing the Triumph of the Faith and of the Church, the Monarchs, the Monarchy, and

Society of Jesus, and its Apostles, with the Extermination of their Enemies: a book to be presented to His Holiness and to the primitive Christians; a work divided into three volumes and posthumous parts, etc. Accepted by Clement XIII. 1783, 4to."

Among the four courts which maintained a cordial intercourse with the Holy See was that of Versailles. Every time it solicited any diminution on the annats agreed upon on expediting the bulls of bishops, Pius VI was disposed to grant more than was asked, contenting himself with remarking to Louis XVI that it was begging alms of the poor. This concord was, however, well-nigh broken by the affair of the necklace, then the talk of Europe.

On the 15th of August, 1787, Cardinal de Rohan had been summoned to court. He appeared in full ceremonial dress, ready to celebrate the feast of the Assumption in the royal chapel, where he was to officiate as grand almoner of France. The cardinal was invited to the king's cabinet, where he found the queen with the keeper of the seals, and the Baron de Breteuil. When questioned as to the circumstances attending the purchase of the necklace, the cardinal showed embarrassment, and ended by saying that he had been deceived. He was at once conducted to his own abode, and seals put on all his papers; and the king, with the consent of His Eminence, ordered a judicial investigation. This case came up before the Parliament of Paris.

The clergy, then in session, protested loudly against this violation of ecclesiastical law. They demanded why the privileges had not been respected which exempted them from the jurisdiction of secular courts.

The clergy and the cardinal himself, by different couriers, laid the sad affair before the Holy Father. Pius fell ill, was

obliged to keep to his bed, and had attacks of a fever which seemed to threaten his precious life. When he had somewhat recovered, the Holy Father held a secret congregation of six cardinals, to whom he submitted the whole affair for examination; and after a conference of several hours with Cardinal de Bernis, chargé d'affaires of France, he wrote to Louis XVI, begging him to allow the cardinal all the prerogatives attached to his dignity; observing, moreover, that although His Eminence was accused before a secular tribunal, he nevertheless remained subject to a judgment of the Sacred College of which he was a member.

The congregation consulted decided that Cardinal de Rohan, having accepted an incompetent tribunal, and, in fact, violated the oaths taken by him on receiving the dignity of cardinal, could not claim the honors and prerogatives due to a cardinal. By virtue of a pontifical decree pronounced in secret consistory, February 13, 1788, the cardinal was suspended, deprived of voting or being chosen, and of all the rights and honors of the purple, till, within a term of six months, he appeared before the Holy See to defend himself against the charge of having accepted an incompetent tribunal.

Before the term expired, the Parliament of Paris declared the cardinal innocent. But the king exiled him to his abbey of La Chaise-Dieu, depriving him of his cross of knight of the orders, and his high dignity of grand almoner of France. Then the cardinal sent his justification to Rome, with a letter to the pope explaining the cruel circumstances which had forced him to submit his case to a lay tribunal.

Monsignor Albani appeared before the consistory as the cardinal's representative, and explained his excuse. Rohan was then absolved and restored to the enjoyment of his for-

mer rights and his insignia as cardinal; and the Holy Father was freed from an affair which seemed so pregnant with unpleasant consequences for the Roman court.

Amid all these different cares, Pius VI had to deplore other assaults on the pontifical power. A new system of ecclesiastical discipline had been introduced into Belgium by Joseph II. The Church in that country seemed disposed to revolt from the Holy See. Many young Catholics, brought up in all the purity of the ancient precepts, demanded a restoration of all matters to their former footing; and gaining nothing, revolted, to obtain by force what was denied to their respectful petition. Letters to Vienna announced that these revolts were excited by monks, protected, it was said, by Monsignor Zondadari, nuncio from His Holiness at Brussels. That prelate was, accordingly, notified by letter from the emperor to leave the capital with his auditor within a week, and the Belgian States within a fortnight. The prudent Roman envoy, not to compromise his representative character, retired to the abbey of Lobbes, near Liège. Thence he informed His Holiness of the whole affair. The pope was the more afflicted from the fact that the court of Vienna had not forewarned him of its course.

His affliction increased when he learned that Cardinal de Franckenberg, Archbishop of Mechlin, had to witness the sequestration of the property of his see, and was summoned by a secret order to Vienna to account for his conduct. There he had to drink the chalice of humiliation to the dregs. He was forced for four months to deliver courses of the new theology, under the direction of the counsellors of the ecclesiastical deputation; moreover, the bishops of Ghent, Antwerp, Bruges, and Ypres received severe reprimand; the Bishop of Namur was deprived of his revenues and exiled to a monastery. Many ecclesiastics dear to the people had been

treated with rigor for protesting against the emperor's edicts —edicts in violation of all the ancient discipline of the Church. The Holy Father addressed warm remonstrances to obtain an amelioration of the condition of so many worthy bishops and priests; but all his efforts were vain, and the tyrannical emperor persisted in his course.

Meanwhile Monsignor Ricci, Bishop of Pistoja and Prato from 1780, gave new proof of his aversion to the discipline of the Church, as regulated and followed by the Holy See. He was protected by his sovereign Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, brother of Joseph II, who appointed to office men imbued with the schismatic ideas of reform. He founded ecclesiastical academies in which the new theology was taught; he encouraged writings against devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and against indulgences; he changed rites, altered discipline, and, regardless of the murmurs of the people, he stripped divine worship of majesty, the Church of its rights, and religion of the respect of the faithful.

A strict partisan of the appellants of France, Ricci took them as his models. Under his pen, Soanen was a holy bishop; Quesnel a wise and pious martyr of truth; the Abbé Racine, Mesenguy, Gourlin, and similar Jansenists were lights of the Church. He translated into Italian their works in favor of the appeal and against the popes; he held conferences in which he raved against the bull Unigenitus and defended the cause of the schismatics of Utrecht.

Pius VI wrote to this bishop to endeavor to recall him to the proper path. His only reply was new innovations, which led to incessant complaints between Rome and Florence. It required all the moderation of Pius VI to avoid an open rupture with Leopold.

Ricci, not renouncing the maxims which he had embraced, and which he wished to propagate at any cost, held a dioce-

san council at Pistoja on the 19th of September. This prelate, conscious that he would not find priests enough in his diocese disposed to favor his intentions, summoned several of his partisans from other places, and especially from the University of Pavia, where Natali, Tamburini, Zola, and others manifested similar opinions. The bishop chose Tamburini as promoter of the synod, although he had no right to be present. Other partisans are mentioned, who are cited in Jauffret's work. This synod lasted ten days; it was composed of two hundred and thirty-four priests, and Ricci declared to them that "the Holy Ghost would descend upon them, and their oracles become those of God himself." To gain the parish priests, he permitted them, in ceremonies, to wear the rochet and violet cassock like prelates, and at other times to wear a ribbon of like color in the hat. This decoration and other indulgences of the bishops gained some weak pastors to his side.

From the rank and disposition of those who made up this synod, it is easy to infer what the decrees would be. The systems of Baius and Quesnel were adopted, Ricci having translated into Italian the Moral Reflections of Quesnel, and presented them to his parish priests, recommending them to use this "golden book," which was, however, condemned and proscribed by the Holy See. They then approved some propositions already condemned by the bull Unigenitus. They admitted twenty-four articles of those which the faculty of Louvain had presented to Innocent XI in 1677, and which were adopted by the rebel schismatics of Utrecht in 1763. They approved the twelve articles sent to Rome in 1725 by Cardinal de Noailles, and which with manifest falsehood they pretended to have been sanctioned by Benedict XIII. They censured, with even greater warmth than Leopold had done, the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

They treated with contempt sacred pictures and other practices of piety. Many reforms were proposed in the ancient discipline of the Church. Most of the religious orders were blamed, Ricci wishing to reduce them all to one order. He asked also the suppression of perpetual vows, and admitted only the rule of Port Royal. Pius VI will teach us in 1794, by his bull Auctorem fidei, what is to be thought of this assembly and its decrees.

Scarcely had the synod adjourned than its operations elicited much opposition, even in Tuscany. To repress it, Leopold resolved to convoke at Florence an assembly of three archbishops and fourteen bishops of his grand duchy. They were directed to prepare matters to be discussed in a national council; they were also to pave the way for the changes which Ricci desired to introduce, and carry out, on a large scale, what he was executing at Pistoja. Ricci was sure of reckoning some adherents among them. This assembly opened in a hall of the Pitti Palace on the 23d of April, 1787, and after nineteen sessions dissolved on the 5th of June. The fourteen bishops would not listen to anything about the synod of Pistoja, and evinced a true and manly sacerdotal resistance. After the usual preliminaries, the four following articles were proposed: (1) A reform of the breviary and missal, under the care of the three archbishops of Tuscany. (2) The translation into the vernacular of the ritual in the administration of the sacraments, except the sacramental words always to be said in Latin. (3) The precedence of parish priests over canons, even in cathedrals. (4) The jurisdiction of bishops is of divine right.

Ricci wished, moreover, the episcopate to be restored to its primitive rights. Four of his colleagues supported him, but the others refused to enter into a discussion brought forward only as a source of complaint and discord.

Opinions differed as to a plan of study; the multiplicity of altars in the same church—an enormous abuse, according to Ricci, and not to be tolerated; the suppression of privileged altars, etc.

Ricci also wished to change the oath made to the pope by a bishop on the day of his consecration. Twelve bishops refused this new reform. The Bishop of Chiusi, hoping to find this assembly of bishops less severe than Rome, submitted the pastoral which he had published to the examination of these bishops. But they pronounced, with the pope, that it was full of errors and a spirit of schism and heresy; and with the same firmness they censured the writings which Ricci had printed at Pistoja to pervert Italy.

That innovator, seeing nothing to hope for from bishops attached to the Holy See, hostile to schism and discord, and repudiating these novelties the more firmly because they were protected in high quarters, thought it best to dissolve the assembly.

Novaes, considering it useless to relate what was then done at Florence, confines himself simply to saying that, among other things, on the 20th of September, 1788, Leopold suppressed and abolished the tribunal of the Florentine nunciature, where Monsignor Ricci had himself been auditor. Matters were submitted to the examination of the three Tuscan archbishops, and the nuncio, Monsignor Ruffo Scilla, was informed that he would in future be recognized simply as envoy and diplomatic minister. At Rome the datary was ordered to expedite no dispensations for Tuscany, unless the documents were legalized by the nuncio.

Meanwhile the pope continued his remonstrances to Leopold. At the same time, to give the prince an unmistakable token of his good will, the pope acceded to a request of the grand duke, who wished to erect the collegiate church of

Pontremoli, in Lunigiana, into a cathedral. The bulls of erection were sent to the prince with a declaration that the candidate nominated by His Imperial and Royal Highness was excluded. Leopold subsequently nominated a bishop whom Rome accepted.

We will now proceed to the beatifications. In 1786 Pius VI celebrated the beatification of several servants of God. On the 13th of August took place that of Pacificus of San Severino, in the March of Ancona, a Reformed Franciscan, who died September 24, 1721.

On the 3d of September the pope beatified the Blessed Thomas da Cervi, an Observantine Franciscan, who died in 1729.

On the 18th of December the pope raised to the cardinalate his second nephew on his sister's side, Romuald Braschi Onesti.

The sovereigns of Russia and Sweden continued to send to the pope great marks of their respect. Frederic William II, King of Prussia, successor of Frederic II, having become master of a great part of Silesia and many other Catholic countries formerly belonging to Poland, granted them his protection. He recognized the rights of the Holy See, which some German archbishops thought to destroy. Although professing another religion, he went so far as to order ecclesiastical affairs to be decided by the Holy See. He wished the nomination of bishops and beneficiaries to fall only on candidates agreeable to the supreme head of the religion which they professed.

The Emperor Leopold I had, in 1701, conferred the title of King of Prussia on Frederic I. The Roman court then protested, and had since persisted in recognizing the Protestant sovereign only as Elector of Brandenburg. Pius VI, to show his gratitude and condescension to Frederic Wil-

liam II, recognized his royal title. The Abbate Ciofani, agent of Frederic William, having received credentials, was declared minister resident of the King of Prussia, and acted also as agent for ecclesiastical affairs. He had, since 1787, raised above the door of his house the arms of a non-Catholic prince.

The religious met with consoling progress in China. The pope profited by this occasion to extend there the liturgy of the Church, and he directed the Propaganda to print the missal, ritual, and breviary in Chinese.

On the 15th of December, 1788, the pope gave the hat to Stephen Charles de Loménie de Brienne, born at Paris in 1727, prime minister of France in 1787, Archbishop of Toulouse, whence he was transferred to Sens, March 10, 1788. King Louis XVI had earnestly solicited this hat, which the pope granted with great reluctance.

A menacing revolt having ensued in Belgium, Joseph II revoked most of his edicts of suppression. The pope sought by every means to appease the insurrection and recover those States for the emperor, lost forever to the house of Austria.

In 1789 the French Revolution began its violent and tempestuous course.

On the 29th of March, 1790, Pius VI addressed the cardinals in this allocution:

"Venerable Brethren:

"We impart to you our grave solicitude, and the grief that overwhelms us; we call your minds to conceive duly the care that oppresses us on every side. You know into what a deplorable state the vast kingdom of France, that mighty realm, the envy of so many, has fallen; how, by the very judgment of its people, it is plunged in an instant into ruin and tears.

"At first only a better organization of the political economy seemed in question; and as they attempted only to lighten the burdens of the people, there seemed no disposition to concern our apostolic ministry.

"This soon led, by a rapid decline, to religion itself, which they pretended to subject to political exigencies. We have seen seditious and sanguinary movements arise; they develop daily. We have hastened to implore the divine mercy on that nation; we have ordered public prayers—they are now daily offered. But hitherto our entreaties are vain before God; the evil increases, and we do not know how much further it may extend.

"By the acts passed in the National Assembly, religion is attacked and disturbed; the rights of this Apostolic See are usurped; treaties and solemn conventions violated; and as the first evils sprang from false doctrines disseminated in poisoned books, it was deemed necessary to give a more prompt impulse to contagious opinions. A decree, therefore, enacted that all men had a right to think as they chose in matters of religion, and express their opinions on the subject; and that each was bound to obey only the laws to which he consented. The Catholic religion was subjected to the question whether it should or should not be dominant in the possessions of France."

The pope continues to examine the state of France. "Solemn vows of religion are suppressed; convents opened; church property confiscated for the benefit of the nation; tithes, constituting a great part of this property, abolished; the church plate seized, and many similar measures adopted, or about to be put into execution instantly.

"Can we remain silent and not raise our apostolic voice against these fatal decrees, which cut off all communication

between us and that kingdom? The prophet Isaiah seems to censure our silence, when he cries: 'Woe is me, because I kept silent.' But how and to whom shall we speak? To the terrified bishops, deprived of all authority? Many others have been forced to abandon their sees. To the dispersed and now despised clergy, who cannot even call the faithful together? Shall we address the Most Christian King himself, whom they have deprived of the royal authority? The king is subject to the National Assembly, and is forced to affix his name to all these decrees. The nation almost entirely seems seduced by this species of vain liberty, and is enslaved by this council of philosophers, who insult and attack each other. It no longer admits that 'the salvation of nations rests in the main on the doctrine of Christ.' Saint Augustine also tells us that 'the felicity of nations exists only where kings are obeyed with the full consent of all.' Kings are God's ministers for good; they are the sons and protectors of the Church. They should love her as a mother, and protect her cause and rights.

"We feel sensibly, nevertheless, that our duty compels us to speak, to warn, to exhort. We know, too, that our words will fall unheeded before the unbridled license of a populace given up to every excess, revelling in fire, rapine, the murder and execution of citizens, and no longer human; at the same time there is fear that it will plunge into deeper crimes.

"Here we have an admirable lesson of Saint Gregory the Great; he proves that silence is not always misplaced. He considers that there is a time to be silent and a time to speak. He distinguishes the two situations, and instructs us thus: 'We must learn with prudence that the voice may open the mouth in season, and that then a seasonable silence may close it.'

"Then for the same testimony are cited Saint Athanasius,

Saint Gregory Thaumaturgus, Saint Dionysius of Alexandria, and Saint Ambrose.

"Yet if our voice is intercepted before France, what have we to do? Certainly we must speak with God; we must enkindle and multiply the prayers which we offer up."

On the 31st of March, 1790, the pope addressed a brief to Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld, Archbishop of Rouen. He says that he regards it as difficult to offer any consolation; he himself needs it no less than the Church of France. Under the circumstances, the pope promises that dispensations from religious vows shall be confided entirely to the piety and prudence of the French bishops.

On the 10th of July the pope addressed Louis XVI, whom he loved sincerely:

"Pius, PP. VI.

"Dear Son in Christ:

"We doubt not, beloved son, that in the bottom of your heart you are attached to the Catholic Apostolic Roman religion, centre of unity, to the Holy See, to us also, and the faith of your glorious ancestors. Yet we must fear that you are deceived by false and captious words, that your love for the people subject to you deceives you, and that many traverse the desire you feel to govern your kingdom worthily and restore it to peace and tranquillity.

"We are on earth the vicar of Jesus Christ. To us he has committed the deposit of the faith, and our duty orders us especially to warn you, above all, of your obligations to God and your people. (We do not think that you, setting aside your conscience, can be brought to acceptance of vain policies.) The paternal love which we feel for you obliges us to declare and warn you that if you approve the decrees concerning the clergy, you will thereby lead all your nation into

error, you will lead the kingdom into schism, and you will cast religion into the cruel chances of war. We have hitherto employed all our zeal to prevent any movement taking place as on our part; we have had no other arms than the harmless weapons of our prayers to God. But if religion continues to meet dangers among you, the head of the Church will raise a voice that must be heard. Still, we never break the laws of charity; we acknowledge that we owe much to the world, but we owe more to God.

"Think not, our dear son in Christ, that a civil body politic can change the doctrine and discipline of the Universal Church; that it can despise and hold as naught the sentences of the holy Fathers and councils, overthrow the hierarchy, decide aught on the election of bishops, the suppression of episcopal sees—in a word, trouble or deform at pleasure the whole structure of the Catholic Church.

"Your Majesty has near you two archbishops [De la Rochefoucauld, cardinal-archbishop of Rouen, and Champion de Cicé, Archbishop of Bordeaux]: one, during the long career of his episcopate, has battled against the attacks of incredulity; the other is very learned and instructed in all that concerns religion and its regulations. Consult them as well as others, whose number is great in your kingdom, both prelates and doctors distinguished by piety and learning, for fear of imperilling your salvation and that of your people by an unthinking approval that would offend and scandalize all Catholics.

"For the good of the nation you have renounced much that was yours; but if it was in your power to cede rights inherent in the royal crown, you cannot alien and reject those belonging to God and the Church, of which you are the Eldest Son.

"We, who are the head of the Church, fall herein into great pain of mind. We have also to complain in what con-

cerns our temporal power. Your Majesty knows that Avignon, by revolting, has detached itself from us and has offered to recognize the authority of the French people. That nation will not, we think, accept what is thus offered, and Your Majesty's heart will repulse this gift; for from this example it would follow, besides the manifest wrong, that the French nation could never in future reclaim provinces that abandoned it and submitted to the authority of a neighboring State, which might happen in the great perturbation of your kingdom.

"Let us trust to Divine Providence, and cling steadfastly to the faith of our ancestors, and thus merit from the Almighty a present protection. As for ourselves personally, we shall never cease to feel uneasiness and anguish till we see in perfect security Your Majesty's happiness.

"Now, with heartfelt sentiment of paternal love to Your Majesty, we send you, with love for yourself and all your family, our apostolic benediction.

"Given at Rome, near Saint Mary Major's, July 10, MDCCXC, of our pontificate the sixteenth year.

"Pius, PP. VI."

The same day the pope wrote to John George, Archbishop of Vienne, to conjure him to renew his efforts to save religion, his king, and his country.

A letter of the same date and purport was addressed to Jerome Mary, Archbishop of Bordeaux.

On the 17th of August, 1790, the pope again addressed Louis XVI:

"To his dear Son, the Most Christian King Louis:

"Pius, PP. VI.

"Very dear Son in Christ, health and apostolic benediction:

"Your Majesty's letter [dated July 28, 1790], which has

been handed to us by Cardinal de Bernis, informs us of your respect for religion, and your love for the Holy Apostolic See. You have had sound reasons to believe that we would address you, to prevent your straying from the canonical rules and discipline of the Universal Church. Eldest Son of the Church, you know that the spiritual and temporal powers should mutually assist each other, and that the Church alone has the right, to the exclusion of all political exigency, of deciding in spiritual matters, and that temporal power intervenes only to aid in enforcing the decrees of the Church.

"If this order is not preserved in the two powers, all rights must be troubled, and confusion in public things and schism will replace that happy concord which binds all the faithful by unanimous consent.

"While the Church was tossed by the waves of tempests, then for a certain time it opposed its patience; but at the same time it remained firmly attached to the careful enforcement of the Catholic precepts.

"We have for some years employed similar toleration in the affairs of France, deeming it better not to raise our voice nor display a just severity while minds were carried away by the fury of erroneous opinions, and that it was better to prepare hearts, that they might, as troubles decreased, return to better sentiments and acknowledge the true principles of the faith, for the support of which it becomes us to guard the rules of the evangelical law.

"Some bishops of your States perhaps wonder greatly that we have not long since broken this silence by a solemn cry. But Your Majesty can himself tell them what a correspondence we have had with you to defend religion, so long attacked by the poison of incredulous and perverse writings.

"If we have not preached on the house-tops, we have

never dissembled the truth whenever we have been able to make it reach sovereign princes like Your Majesty. We have said that there must be no doubt that, when the ministers of the altar were in danger, we would seek means to serve religion.

"Dear son in Christ, raise up the souls of these ministers, exhort them, amid so many adversities, to patience and a true and stable constancy of will, to keep sound principles and observe Catholic prescriptions.

"You cannot be ignorant that the evils which afflict your subjects are sent by God as chastisements which he inflicts on those who resist his laws. Let your bishops redouble their prayers, as we do ourselves, that the wrath of the divine Redeemer, excited by the wickedness of man, may be changed to feelings of mercy. From no other source can we look for a term to so great evils. Your bishops should especially omit nothing to defend their spiritual rights; they are menaced, and cannot be torn from the Church. If the ministers are deprived of other goods, they should, too, be less moved.

"Meanwhile, as so grave an interest was at stake, we have appointed a congregation of cardinals of the Holy Roman Church. It shall examine what you propose to us through Cardinal de Bernis. This deliberation would delay too much the courier's return; and as Your Majesty presses us to reply to your last letter, we can to-day but impart to you our primitive opinions. At another season we shall address Your Majesty in a more detailed reply, and meanwhile send you and all your family, with all our heart, our apostolic benediction.

"Given at Rome, near Saint Mary Major's, August 17, 1790, of our pontificate the sixteenth year.

"Pius, PP. VI."

We will cite another letter of the pope, addressed to Louis XVI, September 22, 1790:

"Dear Son in Christ, health and apostolic benediction:

"We groan in the depths of our heart when we think that by the violence of these times Your Majesty has been forced to publish the decrees of the National Assembly, to which you gave your sanction before referring them to us, and asking some means to console consciences, avoid the scandals of division among Catholics, and meet the evils before the almost irreparable evils of schism.

"Truly, when we think of the love for religion which has filled Your Majesty's heart since you ascended the throne, when we consider your devotion to the Holy See, your filial affection to our person, then our grief increases within us, because we see that a monarch such as you, and so great, has been forced to subscribe these acts of the Assembly, which aim only at the overthrow of the Catholic religion.

"If you could personally know how far all the articles of discipline are founded on the sacred laws of the canons, the true sentiments of the Church of France, and the principles of the Catholic Church, if you knew how closely these articles are connected with dogma itself, and almost attain the force and nature of religion, you would at once see how by these novelties they seek to cloak, with your august name, the most audacious guilt, not yet avowed, but which is the more and more to be feared, on account of the incredulity of minds and the rashness of the times.

"And now, most dear son in Christ, remember that God is your creator and your judge, and that the same God has enabled your august ancestors to pass unscathed amid so many tempests during so many ages; believe that God will ever be a God for you, if, as your fathers persevered in fidel-

ity to his laws, you now show like fidelity. Then will God awaken in your behalf that ancient love of your people, which, assuring them a singular glory, will bring to the kingdom security and power.

"Your Majesty shows surprise that by the return of the extraordinary courier we did not reply to the main questions contained in the letters handed to us by Cardinal de Bernis on your behalf. We can assure you that we lost not a moment in taking into consideration the grave and difficult matters proposed by you.

"By your order, the documents in the matter were laid before twenty cardinals chosen by us, as well as consulting canonists and theologians. They require time.

"Your minister, the cardinal, has thought proper to make us several representations on the matter, containing information otherwise inaccessible. On his part, he urged us to satisfy your mind with expedition. At the same time, he well knew that we would not dismiss the matter, which was to be examined in all its possible consequences, and which could not be examined in a moment.

"That the successor of Saint Peter may, after mature examination, modify his doctrine, requires that he be first assured of the docility of those who shall hear the voice of the first pastor.

"And who assures us of this docility in these days of tumult, fury, and delirium? Who will affirm that our words will produce more good than evil? Surely, as minds are busied in France, we have rather to fear evil than expect good.

"All must be deemed sacrificed and lost if the centre of unity has to regret its power and its influence on minds. Attentively examine these considerations, and others less grave; then you will understand how necessary it is to pro-

ceed to a serious examination. The congregation of cardinals will assemble September 23; each of them will give his opinion in writing. These opinions we will place in the scales of religion, prudence, love of peace and concord, and we will beg God to assist us and enlighten us with his heavenly splendor.

"During this interval we persist in our condemnation of the decrees on the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.

"Our love for you, our attachment to your kingdom, counsel us to the paths of extreme moderation. We shall certainly never forget that we are the common father of all, that your subjects are our children, that you are the Eldest Son of the Church, and that we would be wanting to the duties of paternal charity if we did not at once seize the arms of the Church against children to be regarded rather as deceived and hurried away by unthinking impetuosity than as rebels and refractory. We will meet these furies by our patience; we will meet the mobility and inconstancy of mind by meekness and temporizing; and, with the help of God's aid, we trust that, without any outcries, religion itself, which is necessary for the happiness of life, for order in society, will revive, enkindled anew in the hearts of those who will be recalled to duty by their anguish, after insulting religion and smiting it with insult. At least we promise ourselves this felicity, and expect this result of the vows which inflame our heart.

"Meanwhile we will exhort the bishops of your kingdom to concert with us, in all confidence, that we may correspond to their solicitude. We will declare what is most proper to undertake to guide them by wise and upright directions, so as to abstain from troubling the peace, exciting the outbreaks and tumults which would precede and follow schism.

"You too, dear son in Christ, forget not to urge them to concert with us to repair the evils while they can still bear the remedy. In this manner bishops will give to all in error time to return to the right path; they will recall nations to reason, by the example of virtue, charity, constancy, and fortitude.

"United to your bishops by the closest ties, we will perhaps find more easy means to remedy the past and arrange matters for the future. The bishops are our brethren; let them not fear to live in a good understanding with us, and rely on us in such anguish of time and affairs.

"Thus must we conduct this negotiation, rather than grant provisional faculties, which would satisfy no one, and certainly beget occasions of destroying the discipline, legislation, and jurisdiction of the Catholic Church. We must not doubt but that God will recall the hearts and enlighten the minds.

"If, after this, God himself, after the consultation of the greater part of the Sacred College, inspires us with the thought of any efficacious means, invoking the divine wisdom, we will readily employ it; we shall, however, first inform Your Majesty, to whom we grant with love, as well as to your family, the apostolic benediction.

"Given at Rome, at Saint Mary Major's, September 22, in the year MDCCXC, of our pontificate the sixteenth year.

"Pius, PP. VI."

This negotiation to obtain provisional faculties naturally passed through the hands of Cardinal de Bernis. Pius VI was undoubtedly under obligations to De Bernis in the conclave, and no one was astonished at the friendship and confidence reposed in him. De Bernis, when consulted, had habitually given sound advice. Sometimes, too, when not

consulted, he manifested spontaneously a spirit of opposition not pleasing to Pius VI. Amid these differences De Bernis was not always right.

One day, speaking of the arms cut in marble on various monuments in the beginning of his reign, De Bernis had an altercation with the pope, suddenly and unasked introducing the topic.

To two zephyrs composing the arms of the Braschi family, the intendant of the house, to exalt it, added an eagle, fleurs-de-lis, and stars. It has since been proved that various branches of the Braschi family, by connections with the emperor, the King of France, and Alexander VII, had successively obtained permission to adopt the other armorial bearings.

At the moment when the works in the Pontine marshes seemed least successful, a malcontent composed a distich against the pontifical arms, and he published some verses. Rome repeated the insult, and Cardinal de Bernis was blamed for allowing it to be quoted before him. History has graver subjects.

In the first place, Pius VI possessed, in his family archives, documents sustaining the pretension; moreover, the arms were apposite, supposing them adopted, to the early sentiments of a pope, a homage to heaven; then followed the adoption of the insignia of the two great powers, the emperor and France. Light remarks might be heard in the palaces of princes, from whose arms nothing had been taken, and who were not considered as, under heaven, the protectors of the Holy See.

Cardinal de Bernis, in letters to Paris, spoke in an unbecoming tone of the pope, and assumed a sort of tutorship over him. He kept, too, an almost royal state at Rome, his splendid dinners, his elegant suppers, not being interrupted

even at the season when the city was almost deserted. He thus sought and enjoyed a great popularity and seeming power.

He opposed the journey of the pope to Vienna; but in the matter of the recognition of the Jesuits in Russia, sustained the pope in his course. But his great reverse was to come. In aiding the infidel and Jansenist element in plundering and expelling the Jesuits from France, he little thought, in the almost regal pomp with which he surrounded himself, that he would live to see himself stripped of everything, an exile from France, dependent on the bounty of a pope soon himself to die a prisoner.

Meanwhile, from all parts came appeals to Pius VI. The Bishop of Bâle, whose jurisdiction extended to Alsace, asked directions. Monsignor Stay, secretary of Latin briefs, replied, in the name of the pope, that his jurisdiction in Alsace would undoubtedly be respected. Rome would not consent to a dislocation of a diocese.

Cardinal Zelada was consulted by an abbess as to the course to be pursued amid difficulties and persecutions. His Eminence replied on the 15th of December, directing her to conform to the tenor of the brief of His Holiness addressed on the 12th of April, 1782, to the Bishop of Brünn.

The year 1791 began with the saddest auspices.

On the 23d of February the pope wrote to Cardinal de Brienne a letter blaming his conduct in several points, and urging him to display greater docility in accepting the decisions of the Holy See.

On the 10th of March the pope replied to Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld, and the French bishops who had signed the exposition on the principles of an act passed in France called the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which really annihilated the Church in that country.

This reply is one of the most important that the Roman court published at that time. We can give only an extract here, for the document in itself would form a small volume.

"Dear Sons and Venerable Brethren, health and apostolic benediction:

"We now reply to your letter of October 10, 1790, subscribed by a great number of your worthy colleagues. This reply we have been obliged to defer on account of the gravity of the matter, and the great urgency of important affairs.

"Your letter has renewed in us that immense pain that afflicted us, and that no consolation can relieve, since we learned that the Assembly of your nation, met to consider the interests of political economy, had gone so far in its decrees as to attack the Catholic religion. This Assembly, although engaged in conspiracies against itself, yet rushes on the sanctuary.

"From the first we thought that, with men so inconsiderate, silence must be kept, for fear of provoking them by the word of truth to acts of greater perversity. This silence we put under the protection of the authority of the great Saint Gregory, who says: 'We must regulate ourselves discreetly in times of vicissitude, lest, when the tongue should be silent, it give vent uselessly to words.' Meanwhile we have spoken to God, and ordered public prayers, to obtain of him for these new legislators a disposition which will recall them from the precepts of the philosophy of this age, back to the laws of our religion and their practice.

"In this we have followed the example of Susanna, who, as Saint Ambrose says, 'did more by silence than if she had spoken. If she was silent to men, she spoke to God. Conscience spoke where the voice was unheard. She sought not

for herself the judgment of men, because she had the testimony of the Lord.'

"Meanwhile, venerable brethren, we have not neglected to convoke in consistory our brethren of the Holy Roman Church. On the 29th of March, last year, we communicated to them the plots then formed against the Catholics. We imparted to the Sacred College the bitterness of our sorrow, and invited them to join their tears with ours, accompanied by prayers to God."

The pope refutes the assertions advanced in the various articles. He cites Saint Athanasius and Saint John Chrysostom. He denounces an article of one of the decrees, which he cites in French: "The new bishop shall not apply to the pope to obtain his confirmation; but will write to him as visible head of the Universal Church, in token of unity of faith and communion to be entertained with him."

Pius VI justly styles this the abolition of his pontifical primacy and of his jurisdiction. Alluding to the confusion resulting from the suppression and reduction of many archiepiscopal sees, Pius VI recalls a letter of Innocent III to a Patriarch of Alexandria who attempted similar innovations.

Alluding subsequently to a bishop who had been abandoned by his colleagues, he thus describes his grief: "So much has our affliction increased that night or day the pupil of our eye has not closed."

The pontiff argues that the acts of Henry VIII in England and those of the Assembly are identical; nay, more, that the Assembly has imitated Henry VIII; and he quotes Bossuet at length on Saint Thomas à Becket.

The pope refers with pleasure to the fact that the chapter in the diocese of the recreant bishop, the chapter of Autun,

declares: (1) That they adhere formally to the exposition of principles on the constitution of the clergy, given by the bishop's deputies in the National Assembly, on the 30th of October, 1790. (2) That they cannot, without violating their consciences, take part directly or indirectly in the execution of the plan of the new constitution of the clergy, and especially in what relates to the suppression of cathedral churches; and that consequently the chapter will continue its sacred and canonical functions, as well as the performance of the various foundations for which the Church was responsible, till reduced to an absolute inability to fulfil them. (3) That as guardian of the property and rights of the bishopric, and by virtue of the spiritual jurisdiction devolving on cathedral churches during the vacancy of the see, it can consent to no new arrangement of the diocese of Autun made solely by the secular power.

Before concluding, the pope mentions the sentence of Liberius, saying to the bishops who had signed an ancient creed invented by a heretic, and which they adopted from fear under the menaces of the Emperor Constans:

"If you persevere in error, you must be struck by virtue of the spiritual power of the Catholic Church." The brief added that Saturninus, a bishop, was driven from the see of Arles as an atheist, on the representations of Saint Hilary of Poitiers. Then the sentence of Liberius was confirmed by Damasus, and, in a council of ninety bishops, a synodical letter was adopted, stating that the Orientals must repent if they wished to be thought Catholic.

"The partisans of the new schism plunged into the same peril where those fell who underwent the judgment of Liberius, Hilary, and Damasus; and if they do not revoke their oath, they know what to expect. Finally, the contents of this brief have been drawn, not from the mind of the reigning pontiff, but from the purest source of sacred doctrines."

The letter closes thus:

"Venerable brethren, constantly preserve your steadfast resolution; renounce not your project from fear of danger; resist threats, remember how David fearlessly answered the giant; the intrepid Maccabees, Antiochus; Basil, Valens; Hilary, Constance; Yvo of Chartres, King Philip. As for our part, we have recommended new prayers; we have urged your king to withhold his sanction; we have warned two bishops, who are consulted by the king, what to do to disarm and appease, as far as lies in us, the fury of those called the Tiers État; we have suspended the payment of the taxes for documents issued to France—a tax, nevertheless, due our offices by virtue of ancient conventions and uniform usage. This liberality on our part has been met by the blackest ingratitude. Members of the Assembly have given new life to the revolt of the people of Avignon; yet never shall we and the Holy See cease to protest against that act. Moreover, we have refrained from declaring the authors of that baleful civil constitution separated and cut off from the Catholic religion. In a word, we have borne everything, in order, by mildness and patience, to avoid a deplorable schism, and to restore peace for you and your country. Nay, more, firm in the resolve of paternal charity, which you seem to share, as we learn by your exposition, we ask and entreat you to declare and tell us what to do to conciliate minds. Distant as we are from France, we cannot know this. You, who see things nearer, may perceive some measure not at variance with Catholic dogma and universal discipline. Propose it for our examination and deliberation.

"We pray the Almighty to preserve pastors as wise, as vigilant as you are, and keep them safe and sound as long as possible. This wish we consecrate with our apostolic bene-

diction, which we send affectionately and from the bottom of our heart to you all, dear sons and venerable brethren.

"Given at Rome, at Saint Peter's, March 10, 1791, of our pontificate the seventeenth year.

"Pius, PP. VI."

This doctrinal brief is reputed one of the best works of Pius VI. Proud of succeeding so many great and learned men, he invokes their example to sustain his cause and theirs. The same courage, erudition, and apostolic zeal are found in the bull issued in 1794.

On the same day, March 10, 1791, Pius VI wrote to Louis XVI. After excusing himself for not sooner replying, he mentions the document addressed to the bishops, and adds:

"Your Majesty has promised us to live and die in your religion. This promise gave us great consolation. On the other hand, this promise will give you most lively grief, when you understand that, by your sanction, you have cut off from the Church all who have taken the oath prescribed by the Assembly, as well as all who adhere to the pernicious maxims contained in the constitution. In this manner you have refused the illustrious and glorious praise which you have obtained by defending religion. Thus you have strayed from the example of your ancestors, who maintained it with zeal and intrepidity."

The pope urges Louis to consult the bishops, and speaks of the Bishop of Autun and Cardinal de Loménie in severe terms.

On the 2d of April Cardinal Zelada felicitated the members of the chapter of Autun in the pope's name, and praised them for their fidelity to their priestly oaths.

On the 13th of April commonitory letters were issued to

all the French clergy. The letters of the French archbishops, dated October 10, are regarded by the pope as worthy of the highest praise. As to those who took the oaths, he gives the names of five archbishops and bishops who had acknowledged the constitution. Finally, he declares the constitution heretical, opposed to Catholic dogma, in other points sacrilegious, schismatical, destructive of the pontifical primacy, contrary to ancient and modern discipline, and imagined and conceived only to abolish the Catholic religion.

The rest of the document shows the sentiments which were to animate the glorious pontiff when he must trace the fearful consequences of this destruction of religion.

On the 16th of April Cardinal de Rohan was congratulated on the determination he evinced to repel the subversive doctrines of the innovators.

On the 23d of April warm letters were addressed to the inhabitants of the Venaissin, who still continued their efforts to throw off the pontifical authority.

On the 10th of May, 1791, the pope superintended with his ordinary zeal the labors at the Pontine marshes. From Terracina he transmitted to the French episcopate new faculties, to meet, in part, the evils which afflicted religion. These faculties were extended on the 18th of August and 26th of September. The archbishops of Lyons, Paris, and Vienne, with the oldest bishops, are enjoined to seek means to restore peace to the churches.

Loménie had resigned the purple. Pius VI accepted the resignation before the cardinals, and at once replaced him by a distinguished prelate whom he reserved in petto.

New commonitory letters were published, March 19, 1792, in reply to letters from the intruded clergy:

"This means of defence is known; it belongs to the wicked

school of heretics and schismatics. We read that Photius wrote to the pontiff Saint Nicholas, Luther to Leo, Peter Paul Vergerio the younger to Julius III. They feigned obedience, submission, and union with the Apostolic See; by their doctrines they disavowed and at the same time insulted the Holy See, and taught condemned errors."

The pope here alludes to a work entitled "Agreement of True Church Principles, Morality, and Reason, in the Civil Constitution of the Clergy of France, by the bishops of the departments, members of the National Constituent Assembly at Paris, 1791."

At the end of this book was inserted a famous letter of Pius VI, said to have been sent by him.

"But to instruct the good and fortify their perseverance, we shall not neglect to point out the poison and pestilence that distil from that perverse work."

One of the means also employed at that time to neutralize the force of the pope's opposition was to declare that he had written no letter on these matters, and that the briefs published in his name were forgeries. Those cited by us are from copies so well authenticated as to cover with shame whoever gainsays them.

We have already alluded to the state of Catholicism in the new republic of the United States. The temporary superiority of the Rev. John Carroll prepared the way for the erection of an episcopal see. The clergy feared for a time the appointment of a vicar apostolic nominated by Cardinal York, as representing the Stuart family; but the Holy Father had, on the advice of his nuncio at Paris, committed the election of the new bishop, for this occasion only, to the clergy. The episcopal see was fixed at Baltimore, and the Rev. John Carroll, having been chosen, received his bulls, and proceeding to London was consecrated, August 15, 1790,

at Lulworth Castle, by the Right Rev. Charles Walmesley, Bishop of Rama and vicar apostolic of the western district, the dean of the vicars apostolic in England.

On his return to Baltimore, Bishop Carroll was accompanied by several French ecclesiastics. His new diocese embraced the whole United States, then including all east of the Mississippi except Florida; but the scattered Catholics in this vast extent were attended in all by less than fifty priests.

One of the bishop's first acts was to establish a college at Georgetown, and a seminary at Baltimore, under the Sulpicians from France.

In 1791 Bishop Carroll held his first synod, which lasted four days, and was composed of eighteen priests, not including those newly arrived from France. They established various articles of discipline on objects of the highest importance, and remedied abuses that had crept in during the colonial times.

Almost at the same time that Bishop Carroll returned to the United States, the Rev. Charles Neale brought over a colony of Carmelite nuns from the convent of Hoogstraeten; and the house they founded at Whitemarsh was afterwards removed to Baltimore, proving a source of benediction to the country.

It was then a great wonder of Providence that, while in France the decrees of the Assembly closed the asylums of evangelical perfection, America held out the hand of welcome to religious who came with the example of their virtue, and to the exiled clergy of France, who became under God apostles in the New World, and founders of churches which still revere with unabated respect their early pastors.

It was deemed a prodigy that Pius VI could bear up under the weight of the thorny occupations that assailed him every

moment. The day no longer sufficed for the discharge of his duties, and he spent a part of the night busily engaged, to the great detriment of his health.

On the 5th of June, 1791, the Holy Father beatified the Blessed Mary of the Incarnation, foundress of the barefooted Carmelites in France.

On the 26th of September, in the same year, Pius VI created as cardinal Monsignor Fabrici Ruffo, a noble Neapolitan, born September 16, 1744. He granted him this elevation to show his gratitude to Cardinal Ruffo, uncle of the new appointee, and an early benefactor of Braschi.

Soon after, Pius VI created as cardinal Monsignor John Baptist Caprara, a noble Bolognese, born March 29, 1733.

The agitations in France filled most countries of Europe with inexpressible terror; even Protestant princes sought consolation at Rome for their Catholic subjects.

On the other hand, Prussia and Russia continued to offer shelter to the Jesuits, who, by a frank conduct, free from all interference with parties at court, had long merited the generous hospitality offered to them in their hour of trial.

The sympathy of Pius VI for Louis XVI, now languishing in prison, was unceasing; but it is also a pontiff's duty not to neglect more happy princes, who, still on the throne, can ameliorate the lot of their brethren reduced to bondage.

Francis II, son of Leopold, had just been elected emperor. In 1792 the pope sent him a brief.

Meanwhile the National Convention, which had succeeded the Legislative Assembly in France, as the latter had the Constituent Assembly, prepared, after abolishing religious worship, to overthrow the Holy See. The agitators had, with this view, sent emissaries to bear the spirit of revolution to Rome.

On the 11th of January, 1793, arrived at Rome Citizen Laflotte, sent by the French ambassador at the court of

Naples. Laflotte was attended by Citizen Bassville, secretary to that embassy. He proceeded to the pontifical palace, and presented to Cardinal Zelada, secretary of state, a letter from that ambassador. This letter was accompanied by a memoir full of haughty threats. Both communicated to the cardinal orders of the National Convention, and the French consul was commanded within twenty-four hours to raise the national flag over his palace door and over the French academy, that the new French republic should thus be recognized by the pope.

The cardinal secretary of state, surprised at such a demand, would give no reply without consulting the sovereign pontiff. Pius VI then dictated a document which he communicated to all his ministers. He explained by the most convincing reasons that he could not comply with the request, because such an act would be an undoubted though tacit approbation of all done in France in persecuting religion and trampling on the rights of the Holy See. The act required would therefore be in direct opposition to what the pope had published in his most recent briefs, and to what he had ordained according to his right as Moderator of the Church.

Pius VI did not recognize the new government, because that power, by its laws, its maxims, its political notifications, had declared war on religion itself, of which the pope is head; because that government did not recognize the pontiff, or respect him as temporal sovereign, and because the new French authority was recognized by no other cabinet. It was not becoming in the pope to be the first to recognize the new government. It was not for Pius VI to offend the monarchs of Europe and raise up enemies.

As a temporal sovereign, the pontiff could not consent to the raising of the republican flag in his capital. The pope could not forget that his briefs, and his picture even, had

been burned in France, and that this had taken place March 3, 1791. Then the nunciature of His Holiness, having demanded satisfaction and failed to obtain it, had been obliged to leave France.

Nor could he forget the usurpation of the State of Avignon and the Venaissin county, and their incorporation with France by a decree of the Assembly of September 14, 1791, when no one could dispute the lawful and continuous possession by the Holy See for several centuries. Nor could the Holy Father forget what had occurred in the preceding August at Marseilles. The pope's arms had been taken down from the house of the pontifical consul, been hung up to a lamp-post, then broken to pieces and made the sport of the mob. The pope had demanded satisfaction, which had been refused. He must therefore oppose the erection before his eyes of the republican flag, inasmuch as the pontifical arms were no longer suffered in France, where Pius VI had ceased to be recognized either as head of the Church or a sovereign. Such was the argument of the pope.

Before long Rome was aware of the violent language, threats of ruin and massacre, addressed by Laflotte to the cardinal secretary of state. The Roman people, not forgetting the Marseilles insult, were aroused to avenge the insult to their prince. Pius VI, seasonably warned, ordered all accessible troops to be put under arms to control the fury of the people, and notified the two Frenchmen, who were invested with no direct diplomatic character for Rome, that it was unwise to provoke the Roman people further. But the government did not obtain its aim. At 4 P.M. of the 13th of January, 1793, the republican arms were raised at the doors designated. Then Laflotte, accompanied by Bassville, appeared in the Corso, the most frequented street in Rome, especially crowded on a Sunday. Both wore the tricolored

cockade; their servants and coachman had the same insignia; and instead of lamps, two small tricolored flags floated from the vehicle.

At this new spectacle, which the people regarded as an insult to their prince, the Romans burst out into cries of, "Long live Saint Peter!" "Long live Religion!" "Long live Pius VI!" The most excited rushed at the carriage of the two rash men. Laflotte fired a pistol. This exasperated the people still more, and they pursued the two, who fled at full gallop to take refuge in the house of Moutte, the French banker. The people, roused to ungovernable fury, could not be quieted. Bassville was discovered. Some wished simply to hold him in custody, but the troops came up too late; an unknown assailant stabbed him in the stomach. On hearing of this, the pope sent fresh troops to quell the disturbance, which threatened other Frenchmen. He ordered his own surgeon to go and tend the wounded man, but Bassville's case was hopeless. He sank under a painful fever, saying that he was the victim of Laflotte, whose madness had sacrificed him. He earnestly implored the succors of religion, which he received with exemplary fervor; and he died detesting all he had done against the laws of the Church.

The glorious testimony of the edifying death of this Frenchman was published by the parish priest of San Lorenzo in Lucina, who attended him to his last moment and received the avowals of his sincere confession.

The first tidings of this popular outbreak filled the pope with the greatest alarm. In his wisdom, he foresaw the fatal consequences of this event.

A new tumult broke out against the French on the 10th of February, but was immediately quelled by the firmness of the government.

Meanwhile the soldiers had protected Bassville's wife and

son and Laflotte himself. The pope supplied them with money to enable them to return to Naples.

From motives of prudence, the Roman court published a detailed statement of the affair, and transmitted it to all the cabinets in Europe, with a judicial investigation of the circumstances. Not satisfied with restoring tranquillity among his people, guilty, as His Holiness expressed it, of a crime against the principles of religion, justice, and humanity, Pius VI printed an edict severely condemning the excesses committed, as unworthy of a nation brought up amid maxims of moderation, and nurtured with the pure principles of morality, which inculcate peace, meekness, charity to our neighbor, and pardon to all our enemies.

Another edict called upon the people to avoid all occasions of sedition and disorder, ordering respect to property, reminding them to wrong no man and insult none, whatever his country, origin, or opinions. This wise edict breathed the true spirit of Christian meekness and paternal love which the common Father owes to all. Yet this very edict supplied the revolutionists with new arms; its expressions were too benignant, too pacific. They wished an ecclesiastical sovereign, the universal Father of the faithful, to assume the tone of a sectary amid a meeting of madmen.

The Holy Father saw how the anger and malevolence of his enemies advanced; but bound, as a sovereign, to defend his own subjects, he resolved to take measures for the safety of his States, adopting the advice of his cardinals and prelates. The Roman cities were full of emissaries sent to create trouble. Pius increased the pontifical forces, giving command to the venerable Bolognese general, Count Caprara, who was in the emperor's service. Nothing, however, betokened a hostile movement on the part of Rome, and there was no question of its joining the great league of powers

against France. The pope resolved not to go to war, and ordered all French subjects, without exception, to be treated as subjects of the allied powers. While the Holy Father entertained these sentiments, a French brigantine, flying before two Neapolitan xebecs, was driven on the pontifical coast, and the crew, destitute of supplies, were wandering through the forest of Corneto. Pius VI ordered them to be relieved, their vessel repaired and provisioned. He clothed the crew and had them escorted a considerable distance.

The Revolution in France had now reached that terrible period of the death of Louis XVI. Pius VI had repeatedly implored the interposition of the powers, especially of Spain, in favor of the unfortunate King of France, and notwithstanding the danger to himself, his language, when the sacrifice was consummated, was so firm and resolute that it naturally requires a place here. Pius VI, moreover, in an allocution, describes it in detail.

On the 26th of January, 1793, the untiring pontiff issued encyclical letters prescribing measures for assembling in the Roman States French ecclesiastics, both secular and regular, who might take refuge there.

At the same moment England distinguished herself by her spirit of charity, and the priests and other emigrants received succor, which the ministry, the Parliament, and the whole nation proposed, voted, and distributed with rare generosity.

The Bishop of Luçon had recourse to the pope, who replied, May 28, 1793, in the most consoling terms. The bishop, he states, will find in the decisions of the Council of Trent a part of the replies proper to be made to his interrogatories. As to the new facts, the articles which contravene the doctrine of the council in regard to marriage, the pope lays down the true laws of the Church. He observes

that an act signed before a municipal authority is simply a civil act. All that the wisdom of Pius VI suggested to the bishop was executed in France. Never did the prudence of Rome appear in a more brilliant light than in the discussion of this question, one of the greatest difficulties ever submitted to its exalted authority.

Louis XVI had been executed on the 21st of January, 1793. Pius VI did not act impatiently; he did not revolt at the habitual slowness of the Roman court. His Holiness, in due time, when official communications reached him, as far as they could under such circumstances, sought antecedents, and permitted the announcement of the ceremonies usual at Rome on the death of each Most Christian King, Eldest Son of the Church. Pius VI could not be in doubt as to the resentment to be felt by the revolutionists; his courage was unshaken; he himself drew up an allocution, pronounced before the assembled cardinals on the 17th of June, which concluded as follows:

"We have desired to speak to you thus in order to obtain some consolation in the acerbity of such circumstances and grief. To bring what more we have to say before you to a close, we end by inviting you to the solemn funeral which, according to usage, we celebrate for the late king.

"These funeral offices of our prayers may appear superfluous, as they relate to one who has, we think, acquired the name of martyr; for Saint Augustine says: 'The Church does not pray for martyrs, but rather commends herself to their prayers.' Still, this very sentence of Saint Augustine must not be applied absolutely only to him who is regarded as a martyr, not by virtue of human persuasion, but by the judgment of the Apostolic See.

"In consequence, on the day which we will indicate, we shall according to usage celebrate with you, venerable

brethren, and in our pontifical temple, the solemn obsequies in honor of Louis XVI, the Most Christian King."

Thus spoke Pius VI, announcing the regicide to the cardinals. The monarch's obsequies were celebrated in the pontifical chapel, in presence of the Princesses Victoria and Adelaide, aunts of the late king. Monsignor Paul Leardi, a Piedmontese prelate, pronounced the funeral eulogy on Louis; and Pius VI was seen repeatedly shedding copious tears on hearing the virtues of the good prince praised.

This was not the only royal head to fall. Marie Antoinette, that august princess, born of so illustrious a family, languished with her son, her daughter, and her sister-in-law in the Temple prison; she, too, was to be led forth. The queen was transferred to the Conciergerie on the 2d of August, 1793, and from that moment negotiations began, to induce the great powers to save the life of the daughter of the Cæsars by concessions, treaties of peace, surrender of provinces. Honor, family obligations, just recriminations, noble prejudices of rank, for this once all were forgotten, to treat with the assassins of Louis XVI. They endeavored to interest Pius VI in this matter, in which the revolutionary party did not, however, act in good faith. However, they consented to treat if the republic received new territories and alliances. Encouraged by Cardinal Zelada, Pius VI wrote to Spain. That court had already made noble and generous offers to save Louis. A Spanish agent, although it was not known for months, had actually asked Danton how much he required to prevent the death of Louis XVI. At the close of 1792 Spain offered all the money she could furnish in so short a time; she even offered a settlement of boundaries, which was equivalent to the cession of provinces. The Spanish agent hoped to induce Danton to accept the offers which flattered at once his vanity and avarice. The

amount offered to Danton was four millions; the agent had them in drafts on various parts of Europe. Danton demanded gold. All this paper had to be negotiated; but the bankers at Paris concealed their gold, and only eight thousand louis could be obtained, which Danton refused as insufficient. The letter of the Spanish king was dated early in January. Danton saw and read it on the 12th, and sent it to the Assembly on the 20th. On the 21st of January the king was executed. On the 7th of March the republic declared war against Spain, but this did not prevent the efforts of Charles IV to save Marie Antoinette.

The great Prince Kaunitz, still prime minister at Vienna, was eighty-three. Thugut did not possess all the power he subsequently exercised. Francis II, urged by Pius VI, and still more by unwavering respect and affection for his aunt, encouraged his ministers to press the negotiations. But Francis was inexperienced; he had, so to speak, no cabinet, war was at hand, and the august prisoner could not raise her voice.

The Convention, after offering up the first victim, whose life it so basely offered for sale, waited nine months. In October, despairing of obtaining the price of its treachery and perfidy, it ordered the death of the queen.

Among other infamies, she was accused of having corrupted her son. It was the final charge. The queen, questioned again and again as to the point, was filled with indignation; her face, hitherto pallid, was suffused with blood; and with an expression impossible to describe, which drew sobs from her defenders, she cried: "If I did not answer, it is because nature refuses to reply to such a charge brought against a mother." Then recollecting herself a moment, she turned to the audience, and addressing them directly, she added: "I appeal to every mother who hears me." At these

words a confused tumult arose, and marks of unmistakable interest were shown. After two days' debate she was condemned to death. When asked whether she had any protest to make, she shook her head and left the hall without a word. This was on the 16th of October, at half-past four in the morning. She was taken to the Conciergerie and shut up in the condemned cell. She then sent for a dress for the scaffold, and wrote her last letter to Madame Elizabeth.

A constitutional priest came to attend her. She refused his ministrations. He dared to tell her to offer her life to God in expiation of her crimes. "Say my faults," replied the unfortunate queen—"crimes never." Left alone, she slept calmly. At seven the troops were under arms, and at eleven she was led out of the Conciergerie, dressed in white. Though surprised at not being conveyed to the scaffold like her husband, in a close carriage, she mounted the tumbril with her executioner, his attendants, and the constitutional priest. She had herself cut her hair. Her hands were tied behind her back. Her last wish, as she wrote to Madame Elizabeth, was to die as firmly as her husband; and never did she show more grandeur and majesty. The cortège took the longest route. The scaffold was erected in the Place Louis XV, where her husband had been executed. Marie Antoinette ascended it with a firm step. She took one long look at the Tuileries, and before the ax descended exclaimed: "Lord, enlighten and touch my executioners! Farewell, my children, forever! I go to meet your father." Thus died on the 16th of October, 1793, the daughter of a line of emperors, the Queen of France. Her body, deposited in the cemetery of the Madeleine, was consumed with quicklime. However, a part of her remains was found in 1815 and transferred to Saint Denis.

Pius VI had scarcely communicated to the cardinals the

catastrophe of Louis XVI when he was constrained to shed new tears for the august princess, who, questioned as to the scenes of October 6, at Versailles, replied: "I knew, I saw, and have forgotten all." Funeral services were ordered for her in the different churches of Rome, and private marks of sympathy given, but the terror inspired by the Convention prevented public obsequies.

The close of the year 1793 was remarkable for a number of apostolic labors concerning the missions in the Indies, at Saint Domingo, and in Egypt.

On the 21st of February, 1794, Pius VI, in his twenty-second promotion, appointed as cardinals: (1) Anthony Dugnani, born at Milan, June 8, 1743, nuncio at Paris; (2) Hippolytus Antonius Vincenti Mareri, born at Rieti, January 20, 1738, commander of the hospital of the Holy Ghost; (3) Jean Siffrein Maury, born at Vauréas, near Avignon, June 26, 1746, nuncio extraordinary to the Diet of Frankfort at the coronation of Francis II; (4) John Baptist Rossi de Pretis, born at Urbino, September 22, 1721, president at arms; (5) Francis Maria Pignatelli, born at Rosardo in Calabria, February 19, 1744, chamber-master to the pope; (6) Philip Lancellotti, of the princes of Lauro, born at Rome, August 14, 1742, majordomo of the sacred palace; (7) Aurelius Roverella, born at Cesena, August 21, 1748, auditor to the pope; (8) John Rinuccini, born at Florence, July 22, 1743, governor of Rome.

The cabinet of the revolutionists protested against the elevation of Cardinal Maury; but that orator had shown so much courage in defending the rights of the clergy that his reward astonished none. This was not the only complaint. Pius had granted a refuge to one hundred and sixty fugitives from Toulon, who reached Italy in English and Spanish vessels. The Convention pretended to consider this act

a declaration of war. It was accordingly necessary to make military preparations in the Pontifical States. Commander Gandini, superseding General Caprara, was sent to visit the frontier of Romagna and review the garrisons, which required to be increased.

It was known that there existed in the Roman States a host of ill-intentioned men, excited by secret emissaries, who sought to corrupt the soldiers and intimidate the government.

Ricci, Bishop of Pistoja, continued to set a most pernicious example, and would not submit to the pacific decisions of the Holy See.

In 1795 a new danger seemed to impend over the pope. The Executive Directory, which succeeded the Convention, violently menaced the provinces of the Holy Father. General Colli, a Piedmontese, was appointed by the pope commander-in-chief of the pontifical forces.

Meanwhile the States needed money. In the course of twenty years paper money had been issued to the amount of eight million scudi or Roman dollars. According to calculations made, this exceeded the total specie in circulation. It was necessary to devise means to call in and cancel this paper money. The apostolic chamber sold various parcels of property. The proceeds of these sales were to diminish the paper, as all received was at once cancelled. This lessened indeed the amount of paper, but did not increase the circulation. It was then resolved to borrow half a million of scudi; and this gave the treasury a slight relief.

Meanwhile England was evidently protecting the States of the Holy See. Pius VI, learning that the Catholic worship enjoyed greater freedom in England, under George III, than before, wrote to the bishops, vicars apostolic in that kingdom, to inculcate obedience to that monarch. "The

good will of George III," said His Holiness, "makes this virtue a duty. He is the best of sovereigns; his authority is full of mildness to Catholics. They no longer bear so hard and heavy a yoke; they have been delivered from a part of the severe laws and hard conditions to which they were subjected. They now possess privileges; our brethren may serve in the army, and have obtained Catholic schools for youth. Nor has the beneficent monarch shown his goodness only to the Catholics of his kingdom; he has favored and supported Catholics in the vast Indian realms subject to his authority."

We now come to the twenty-third promotion, the last of this pontificate. On the 1st of June, 1795, the pope raised to the purple Julius Mary della Somaglia, a Piacenza noble, born July 9, 1744.

The brilliant triumphs of Bonaparte in Italy lent new terrors to the French name; his conquests extended daily. Pius sought by negotiation to ward off from his realm the miseries of war.

Spain had signed a treaty of peace with France. Chevalier Azara, minister of the Catholic king at Rome, was requested to proceed to Milan with words of concord for His Holiness; but he had no sooner reached Milan than he had to return to Bologna, because Bonaparte, invited by the Bolognese, had entered that city on the 19th of January, 1796, at the head of seven thousand men. He had seized Fort Urbino and declared Bologna a free city, independent of the Holy See.

Rome was thunderstruck at the tidings of this unforeseen insurrection, and showed still greater affliction when Adelaide and Victoria, aunts of Louis XVI, Prince Augustus of England, and Prince Xavier of Saxony precipitately left Rome.

Amid all these indications of coming evils, Pius VI fervently implored the divine assistance; and at the least-expected moment a courier came in from Bologna, despatched by Azara, to announce that on the 23d of June an armistice had been signed between Bonaparte, general-in-chief, Salicetti and Garrau, commissaries for France, and the Chevalier Azara and Marquis Anthony Gnudi for the Holy See. The articles were at once submitted to the Congregation of State, and, hard and cruel as they were, there seemed no course but to ratify them. As to peace, that was to be treated of at Paris; and the Abbate Count Pieracchi was sent there as plenipotentiary, with the Abbate Evangelisti, employed in the department of state, as companion. This same Roman had accompanied Azara to Milan and Bologna to effect the armistice.

The millions imposed by this melancholy negotiation had to be paid. The pope held a consistory, and thus set forth the troubles of the Church:

"The fate of Italy is to all appearance in the hands of the French; new victories daily assure their conquests. If the well-appointed armies of the empire had to yield to the impetuosity of the conqueror, and if the strongest powers are now in his hands, what resistance or defence can this capital make? What success can we expect from the courage of our subjects? We should but shed innocent blood were we to think of defending it. Of two evils we must choose the lesser, and the God of mercy will bless this resignation to his inscrutable decrees. But if necessity has compelled us to submit to such hard conditions, duty requires us to fulfil them exactly. How are we to provide for the payment of such enormous sums, when the public treasury is absolutely empty, and the resources of the State exhausted? We believe it indispensable to revert to the treasures laid up in

the Castle of Sant' Angelo by our glorious predecessor Sixtus V, and destined by him for the most urgent necessities of the State. Since the deposit was made, nearly two centuries ago, these necessities have never been so imperious; for, religiously faithful to treaties signed, we must pay the French the stipulated contribution. All the treasures in the world cannot restore the life of even one single man. Let us then sacrifice a part, to avoid exposing to massacre millions of devoted subjects still left to us."

To this proposition of the Holy Father, the Sacred College, forced by the exigencies of the case, yielded. The amount necessary to meet the first French instalment was taken from the Castle of Sant' Angelo. The pope also despatched the banker Torlonia to Genoa to effect a loan of a million scudi, hypothecating the revenues of the whole Pontifical States.

All pious places were ordered to send to the mint the gold and silver in their possession, except the sacred vases. Private individuals were to make the same sacrifice; only the gold and silver belonging to goldsmiths was exempted. The persons appointed to receive these deposits, which were to be reimbursed, were Rezzonico, senator of Rome, Prince Chigi, the Marquises Massimo and Patrizi, who all enjoyed the public confidence. The pope did not seek to free himself from the law; his own plate was publicly transported to the mint to be coined, and this generous example was imitated by the cardinals, prelates, and princes of Rome. Prince Doria alone sent to the mint plate to the value of half a million of scudi.

This call for precious metals, which included table-plate and extended to the whole State, produced two million nine hundred thousand pounds of silver. Other sacrifices were

made, and this sacred collection was so abundant that it will be a perpetual honor to the Romans.

Miot, one of the French commissaries, soon arrived, having been minister at Florence. His conduct at Rome was wise, and won the esteem of Pope Pius.

Meanwhile Torlonia returned from Genoa, bringing the sum borrowed by the apostolic chamber from that republic. On the 28th of July the first instalment, amounting to one million two hundred thousand scudi, was forwarded to Milan, to be delivered to a French commissary.

On the other hand arrived commissaries, despatched by the Directory to receive the contribution of works of art stipulated in the convention; they were selected and delivered for shipment to Paris, according to the tenor of the eighth article of the treaty.

All hoped that peace was about to be restored, when a courier from Count Pieracchi, at Paris, arrived, without bearing any allusion to the desired treaty. In his first interview with Talleyrand, minister of foreign relations, Pieracchi had learned that the Directory required the pope, as a preliminary article, to retract the briefs by which he had condemned the Civil Constitution of the Clergy of France. A formula of retractation was handed to the Roman plenipotentiary. The minister pretended that, so long as His Holiness declined to consent to this retractation, there was no means of commencing a definitive treaty of peace with the Roman court. The grief experienced by the pope at this unexpected news was so violent that he fell sick. Notwithstanding his suffering state, he assembled the congregation of cardinals appointed to examine French affairs, to ask the opinion of those faithful counsellors. In the first place, notice was taken of the strange notification presented by the

very one so justly accused in the new monitory letters. Then the cardinals unanimously declared that he could not grant such a demand, because it completely overthrew religion. It was necessary for the good of the Catholic world that His Holiness should expose himself to martyrdom, rather than betray his honor, his duty, his constancy, and thus violate the maxims constantly observed by the Church.

No decision could be more conformable to the intentions of Pius VI and his sentiment of piety. He accordingly approved with apostolic frankness, saying: "We find the martyr's crown more brilliant than that we bear on our head." Constant in this resolve, which he signed on the 14th of September, he sent back the courier to Paris with a most formal refusal. Then Pieracchi and Evangelisti were obliged to leave Paris, under pretext that they had not sufficient powers to treat of the cession of the two legations of Bologna and Ferrara.

Pius VI would not sacrifice the spiritual good of the Church to the cares necessary to be taken to secure temporal peace. Meanwhile he endeavored to try other ways, in order to surmount the obstacle in the limits of conscience. For this end he requested Azara to come to an understanding with Monsignor Caleppi and Father Soldani, a man well versed in a knowledge of the sacred canons. The last-named Roman plenipotentiaries set out for Florence, where they were to treat with two French commissaries. The conference began; but the two Frenchmen were ordered to uphold the pretensions of the Directory. Monsignor Caleppi, after several fruitless voyages to Rome, after asking more explicit instructions, after even bestowing presents to the negotiators, without having concluded anything, and preserving no hope of concluding anything, returned definitively to Rome to give an account of his commission. Then all began

to suspect that the French were exacting propositions impossible of execution, because they wished to continue war at any rate, and keep open pretexts for invading the Roman States.

A more numerous congregation was assembled. The pope there announced that he would never consent to declare unjust his briefs on the affairs of France; that they were in all respects conformable to the decisions of the councils and the opinions of the Fathers; that the Holy See could not approve the excesses committed by France during the last seven years; that he in consequence protested that he preferred to perish rather than abandon the rights of Christ's vicar.

Preparations were then made, not to attack, but to defend. A national guard of fourteen thousand men was organized at Rome, and the command confided to Senator Rezzonico, with Princes Aldobrandini, Gabrielli, and Giustiniani, and the Marquis Massimo as colonels.

The Constable Colonna equipped a regiment of infantry at his own expense, and gave twelve bronze cannon from his fortress of Paliano. The banker Torlonia, unsolicited, raised a squadron of cavalry.

Cardinal Busca had succeeded Zelada as secretary of state. He sent out new orders, requiring all to bring in uncoined silver. The presents made to the treasury at this period amounted to a considerable sum.

Meanwhile the unfortunate French priests were not abandoned; sufficient and charitable relief was distributed to them; and Pius VI, magnanimous in everything, seemed, although almost octogenarian, to exceed himself, and reaped from all good citizens the most heartfelt blessings. Ever ready to show his good faith, Pius VI addressed to all the sovereigns, and to his own subjects, a declaration, at the end of which he printed all the documents of Caleppi's negotia-

tion at Florence with the commissaries Salicetti and Garrau; and he ended by announcing that if he was attacked he would make every possible defence for the good of his subjects.

The sovereigns of Europe, occupied with their own dangers, promised no efficient aid to Pius VI; he was abandoned to his own forces. Insults and threats were redoubled daily. He accordingly countermanded the convoy of the first instalment of one million two hundred thousand scudi, already sent forward under the conditions of the armistice.

In order to complete the military organization, now become more necessary than ever, especially on account of the projects of many of the disaffected, excited by emissaries, a military congregation was appointed to act in concert with General Colli. It was composed of Cardinal Busca, secretary of state, president; Monsignor Consalvi, assessor; Lieutenant-General Galdi; Colonel Colli; and the Marquises Massimo, Patrizi, and Ercolani. This congregation was invested with extraordinary powers.

Bonaparte, general-in-chief, then believing that the pope would accept all the conditions proposed, endeavored to employ as mediator Cardinal Mattei, Archbishop of Ferrara, whom the pope esteemed, and to whom the general himself had shown many marks of consideration. But this cardinal having been subsequently designated as the Roman subject who most fomented troubles, and as an enemy of the French republic, Bonaparte had ordered him to be held as a state prisoner in the citadel of Brescia. The general, having visited him, rendered justice to the virtues of the cardinal, whom he was able to appreciate. In consequence, Bonaparte sent Cardinal Mattei to Rome, and when His Eminence was on the point of setting out, he said to him: "I offer you the fairest and most glorious commission that a good citizen

can ever receive in life. Represent to the pope and his ministers the dangers which menace them; urge them not to rush to destruction by a useless and impotent resistance."

The cardinal wished a letter from the general to justify the mission. Bonaparte handed it to him, and at the same time gave him one for the pope, in which he pressed His Holiness to yield to what the Directory required in regard to the retractation of the briefs on the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Yet this obstinate persistence was merely to humiliate the pope and gratify a feeling of vanity: the Directory was entirely alienated from religion, and cared nothing either for old clergy or new. The Civil Constitution was no longer a law in France. The Directory, with its well-known antipathy to religion and its ministers, cared nothing for that constitution or the old discipline of the Gallican Church. The persistent demand made on the pope was made simply because they wished a pretext for refusing peace and proceeding to greater lengths against the pope.

Pius VI, full of hope in God, and after a time reassured by the cabinet of Vienna, which recalled the letter to Francis II, and promised aid, showed once more a spirit of firmness. He replied, through Cardinal Mattei, that the pope in the cause of the faith feared no danger, and disregarded the menaces daily uttered against him.

In one reply to Bonaparte, made by Cardinal Mattei, we read this:

"General, the success of your army in Italy has blinded you. By an intolerable abuse of prosperity, not satisfied with shearing the sheep to the skin, you wish also to devour them. You insist on the pope sacrificing his soul and that of his people committed to his care. You ask the entire destruction of the fundamental basis of the Christian religion, the Gospel, morality, and church discipline. The Holy

Father, shocked at this insupportable pretension, has cast himself into the bosom of God, to beg him to enlighten his servant as to his conduct in the circumstances.

"The Holy Ghost has without doubt enlightened his servant and recalled to him the example of the martyrs.

"After begging the Directory to grant him reasonable conditions, the Roman court is compelled to prepare for war. Europe must decide who gives the provocation. Death, general, which you hold up to us in terror, is the commencement of eternal life, the term of the seeming felicity of the impious, and the commencement of their punishment, if remorse does not prevent them. Your army is formidable, but you know not that it is invincible. We will oppose our efforts, our constancy, the confidence inspired by a righteous cause, and, above all, the aid of God, which we hope to obtain. I agree with you that the war you are about to make on the pope will bring you little glory; as to the dangers which you believe you will not find in it, our trust in God does not permit us to believe that there is absolutely no peril for you or yours.

"I now return to the object of your letter. You desire peace; we still more. His Holiness on his side, to obtain it, will make every sacrifice not incompatible with his duty."

General Bonaparte wrote another letter to Cardinal Mattei, dated at his headquarters, Verona. He announces his determination to march on Rome, not to punish the pontiff and his people, but those only who advised the pope, and to whom he ascribed the measures adopted for continuing hostilities. The general said, moreover: "Happen what may, cardinal, I beg you to assure His Holiness that he may remain at Rome without any disquietude. As chief minister of religion, the pope will obtain, in that capacity, protection for himself and the Church. Say likewise to all the inhab-

itants of Rome that they will find in the French army friends who will deem victory valueless if it does not ameliorate the condition of the people."

It was soon known that the French army at Bologna was receiving reinforcements. Cacault, minister at Rome, seeing this renewed activity in the preparations for war, endeavored to dissuade the pope from such a project, and failing, left the capital with his secretary, Bernard, to proceed to Verona.

At this time Bonaparte intercepted a letter of Cardinal Busca, secretary of state, to Monsignor Albani, nuncio at Vienna. In this letter His Eminence showed little inclination for the French, and seemed to conceive hopes of seeing the Emperor Francis II come to the relief of the Holy See, as he had promised of his own accord at Frankfort in 1792. This letter was not written in cipher. It became the signal for new steps. Bonaparte, who had proceeded from Verona to Bologna, there issued two manifestoes, on the 31st of January and 1st of February, 1797. In the former he declared that his army had in six months taken one hundred thousand of the best troops of the Emperor of Germany prisoners; captured four hundred pieces of artillery, one hundred flags, and annihilated five armies. In both manifestoes he declared that the pope had formally refused to carry out the provisions of the armistice of Bologna, and it was therefore necessary to continue operations against him. He then, without delay, pushed forward General Victor's division, the van of which met, on the banks of the Senio, the pontifical troops. At the first moment, betrayed by some officers in concert with the French, they lost courage and took flight. General Victor marched on Faenza, which he took with little difficulty, and then occupied Forli and Cesena.

On hearing of this repulse, the congregation of cardinals on the affairs of France met, and decided by a plurality of

votes to continue the war. New dispositions were ordered, but they were rendered of no avail by the rapid march of the republican troops, which had occupied Sinigaglia, Ancona, and even advanced to Macerata. Nothing was now left to the pope except Sabina, the Patrimony of Saint Peter, and the Roman Campagna; and he was not exempt from fear that he would lose these provinces also.

General Colli had been unable to prevent this precipitous march, nor could he prevent the profanation of the celebrated sanctuary of the Santa Casa of Loretto. Commissaries carried off the precious offerings left in this sacred depository of the piety of the whole Catholic world; precious stones, gold and silver votive offerings were found. Except the gold and silver sent to Rome under the edict of contribution, all was carried off. Even the statue of the Blessed Virgin was sent to the Directory at Paris, who placed it in the museum, not as an object of devotion, but merely as a profane curiosity.

Rome was in most terrible consternation. Frequent congregations of cardinals were held, and in one it was resolved that the Holy Father, for his personal security, should leave Rome. As he was preparing to set out for Terracina, two English officers arrived at Foligno with despatches from General Colli, announcing to the Holy Father that he was in an advantageous position for his troops, and that in case of any danger for Rome, His Holiness should receive timely warning. This information calmed the pope's mind and deferred his departure. Nevertheless, precautions were taken to save the precious jewels in the Vatican Palace, the Pio-Clementine Museum, the Monte di Pietà, and the Castle of Sant' Angelo. All these were sent to Terracina, to be thence transferred, if necessary, to Sicily.

The hostile troops kept advancing on Rome. To retard

their march there was no alternative but to solicit peace. A courier was sent to General Bonaparte. Some time elapsed after his departure, and as he did not return, the policy adopted by the general was unknown, and the conqueror, as it was supposed, would not listen to peace at any price. To put an end to this uncertainty, Pius sent to Bonaparte a deputation composed of Cardinal Mattei, Duke Braschi, Monsignor Caleppi, and the Marquis Massimo. They bore a letter addressed to the general. It authorized these envoys to fix, as plenipotentiaries, the bases of a durable and reciprocally satisfactory peace. The pope said: "Assured by the tokens of good will manifested in a letter to Cardinal Mattei, we have refrained from leaving Rome, and this alone will convince you of our confidence in you."

The Holy Father, in his distress, had implored the mediation of Ferdinand, King of Naples, and of the Grand Duke of Tuscany; he had also asked the support of the Chevalier Azara, who had retired to Florence. The Romans believed that this Spanish plenipotentiary had at the armistice of Bologna sacrificed their interests.

The pope's ministers met the pontifical courier with Bonaparte's reply. In a letter of that general to Cardinal Mattei, he announces to His Eminence that he granted the Roman court an armistice of five days, before the expiration of which a minister was to be sent to Foligno to treat of peace. This letter calmed the pope, but measures for a vigorous defence were still continued. The plenipotentiaries proceeded to Tolentino, whither Bonaparte had transferred his headquarters, and there the treaty of Tolentino was signed, on the 19th of February, 1797—Cardinal Mattei, Monsignor Caleppi, Duke Braschi, and the Marquis Massimo representing the pope, and General Bonaparte and Citizen Cacault the Directory.

The same day Cardinal Mattei briefly informed the cardinal secretary of state: "The treaty of peace is signed. The conditions are very hard, and in all respects like the capitulations of a fort, as the conqueror repeatedly remarked. I have trembled till now for His Holiness, for Rome, for the whole State. Now Rome is saved, religion is saved, by the great sacrifices made."

In this treaty, among other points, the Holy Father renounced the sovereignty of Avignon and the Venaissin county, and ceded to France the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna. He promised to pay fifteen million livres tournois, to furnish eight hundred draught-horses, eight hundred others to remount the cavalry, and, moreover, all the cattle required for the French army. The paintings, statues, and manuscripts stipulated in the armistice of Bologna were to be given up. The assassination of Bassville was to be disavowed at Paris. In the course of the year the pope was also to give three hundred thousand livres to be divided among those who had suffered by that catastrophe.

An aide-de-camp of the general soon after arrived in Rome, together with Citizen Cacault. The latter was to see to the execution of the clauses of the new treaty.

The congregation of cardinals, which examined such affairs, was required to give its opinion on this negotiation. The conditions seemed violent and cruel, but were approved and ratified, as containing nothing contrary to the maxims of religion. This had not been the case in the articles proposed at Florence by Salicetti and Garrau. It must be observed that, before the troops approached Rome, they demanded the ignominious retractation of the briefs on the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Credit was due to Cardinal Mattei for excluding from the treaty of Tolentino this outrageous pretension, which the Directory ordered its general

to impose on the Roman court. Cacault pointed out the absurdity of the demand.

When the fear of an invasion passed away, the various precious objects sent to Terracina were brought back and temporarily deposited in the Castle of Sant' Angelo.

After seeking to obtain all resources necessary to fulfil the treaty, two millions in gold and silver ingots were delivered to Cacault, and despatched to Foligno in fifty-four wagons, with the sixteen hundred horses required by the eleventh article of the treaty.

It must be remarked that the conditions of this peace, which was but a continuation of the state of war, without danger to the enemy, had gradually irritated the people in all points of the pontifical territory. Revolts broke out, isolated Frenchmen were cut off; but the actors in these troubles had to repent their violence, which the republican garrison left at Ancona came down suddenly to repress.

To meet the exactions of the treaty, the sums at command were not sufficient; but new efforts were made, and the whole was paid.

Then Cacault went to the Holy Father and proposed to restore all the jewels which formed part of the pontifical tiara. They had been valued at a sum regularly fixed upon by dissenting commissions. Cacault restored them for two million less than the stipulated value. The pope, desiring to preserve these precious monuments of Catholic piety, consented to the arrangement, and Torlonia the banker, with Sartori, jeweller of the palace, were sent to Milan to conclude the affair. But the commissaries at Milan were far from sharing the generous and religious feelings of Cacault; they raised their pretensions so high that the pope was able to ransom only an inconsiderable portion of the jewels.

Pius had accomplished all his duties as a sovereign in the

ratification of a ruinous treaty to save a part of his States. He continued to show the same magnanimous sentiments. Cacault never presented himself at the pontifical palace without being welcomed by the Holy Father with tokens of esteem and consideration. The pope cheerfully granted his requests in all that was just and reasonable.

Pius VI, ever generous, to convince the French that he felt no resentment on the score of the treaty, ordered Cardinals Mattei and Chiaramonti to return to their dioceses of Ferrara and Imola. He ordered the governors remaining in the cities to be restored to the Holy See, under the eighth article, to maintain the most complete concord and good understanding with the republican commandants.

His desire to propitiate the French went still further. As they showed a distrust of Cardinal Busca, in consequence of the intercepted letter showing his hostility to them, Pius VI, resolved to maintain peace at any cost, deprived himself of Busca's services and appointed in his stead Cardinal Joseph Doria, who had been nuncio at Paris and was agreeable to the French.

Meanwhile the Marquis Massimo had proceeded to Paris as ordinary ambassador of the Holy See, and Cacault had been removed to Florence, the French embassy near the Holy Father being intended for Joseph Bonaparte, brother to the general. With the Marquis Massimo the pope despatched to Paris the advocate Gorirossi as envoy extraordinary. Conformably to the treaty of Tolentino, he was to disavow the death of Bassville, an event in which the pontifical government had no share, and could not foresee, as no one could have anticipated the length to which Laflotte had carried his insults to the feelings of the people, on a Sunday, by a revolutionary display beyond all bounds.

At this juncture was announced the death of Victor Ama-

deus III, King of Sardinia. The pope himself presided at the royal funeral, celebrated in the Pauline Chapel of the Quirinal Palace. The funeral oration was pronounced by Monsignor Tiberius Testa Piccolomini.

Since the 9th of July General Bonaparte had united into one the two Italian republics, called the Cispadane and Trispadane (meaning "this side of the Po" and "beyond the Po"), under the name of the Cisalpine Republic.

The Directory wished to carry out a long-desired project, the annihilation of the temporal power of the pope. Joseph Bonaparte seemed not to enter with sufficient complacency into the views of the emissaries sent to Rome to organize the Revolution; and the Directory ordered two generals, Duphot and Sherlock, to proceed to that capital. They were to try to foment troubles, and make the people demand the expulsion of the sovereign pontiff. They began by exacting from the pope the liberation of all political prisoners, that is, of all who publicly showed the desire of seeing a new government succeed that actually in existence. When these men were set at large, the agents of the Directory, to encourage them still more in their evil designs, distributed a considerable sum of money among them. Towards the close of December, 1797, more than a thousand conspirators could be reckoned ready to take up arms to effect a revolution. These innovators, although born subjects of the pope, under various pretexts wore the French cockade, insulted peaceful citizens, and even the troops stationed to preserve the tranquillity of the city.

On the 28th of December, 1797, more than three hundred of these conspirators assembled in the Villa Medici, at the Trinità de' Monti. There a banquet had been prepared, and in the intoxication of such gatherings they cried, "Vive la liberté!" Duphot and Sherlock presided at this orgy. They

waved their hats and invited the Romans no longer to defer their revolution. Troops sent by the government entered the apartments of the villa and dispersed these malcontents. They retired to meet again beyond the Tiber, in the Corsini palace, then occupied by Joseph Bonaparte, the French ambassador, and there they excited one another to plant the tree of liberty on the piazza of the Capitol.

The Roman government, weary of beholding the sovereign pontiff so grossly insulted in his very capital, ordered the civic troop to march and compel the rebels to respect the laws. This guard was ordered, however, to show the greatest forbearance to those who seemed merely misled. Several pickets advanced towards the Lungara, gently advising the factions to disperse. But they, more arrogant, resisted. Numbers of assailants surrounded the troops, who were obliged to fire. Then the rioters instantly fled, and escaped to the palace occupied by the ambassador. In an instant they filled the court, staircase, and a part of the library. Many of the insurgents then fired from the windows and wounded the young sublieutenant Duroni, who died two days afterwards. This success emboldened these fanatics, who continued to vomit on the troops the most opprobrious epithets, and every insult that the vocabulary of the Revolution and impiety could supply.

At that moment General Duphot, who was engaged to a sister of Joseph Bonaparte, drew his sabre, and following only a rash impulse, rushed down the staircase of the palace, and throwing himself into the midst of the insurgents, animated and encouraged them to repel the troops. The dragoons, attacked; called on the general to retire, but he followed and encouraged the rioters. Within a short distance of the palace, while beating down with his sabre the musket

of a soldier who was not threatening him, he was shot and died almost instantly.

The French ambassador, whom Azara, the Spanish minister, and Angiolini, the Tuscan ambassador, had hastened to protect against any popular fury, addressed a complaint to Cardinal Joseph Doria, secretary of state; at the same time he refused to accept the satisfaction proposed, and resolved to leave Rome at once.

The Chevalier Azara sought to divert him from this project. Angiolini, unable to shake Joseph Bonaparte in his resolve, obtained for him during the night the necessary passports from the secretary of state; they were accompanied by a letter from the cardinal, saying: "This government will be ready to give the French republic such satisfaction as it shall demand for what has occurred, although it has committed no fault in this matter."

It was not till next morning that the pope was informed of the catastrophe. He was convalescent, but obliged to keep his room. The announcement of this new misfortune caused a grievous relapse. The theatres were at once closed, and prayers offered up in the churches, and care taken to prevent the troubles breaking out anew. The government proclaimed the penalty of death against any one who insulted a foreigner.

The ambassador had left Rome. The same day the cardinal secretary of state announced the sad event to the Marquis Massimo, minister of the Holy See at Paris. He gave no details, and declared that he referred him for the whole matter to the ambassador Joseph Bonaparte, who was returning to Paris: "I refer you to him, to be informed of the facts and circumstances which accompanied the catastrophe. So convinced am I of his uprightness and veracity that I

cannot nor should doubt of the truth of what he will report to the Directory. The object of this letter is to request you to proceed to the Directory, to express to them that the Holy Father feels the most poignant grief at these events, which he could neither foresee nor prevent. You will offer no satisfaction for this unhappy event, at which His Holiness and myself are inconsolable. You must ask the Directory to demand what satisfaction it will. To ask and obtain will be identical, because neither His Holiness, nor I, nor the Roman court in general, will ever be tranquil till we are assured that the Directory is satisfied."

At the same time the pope despatched Cardinal Braschi, his nephew, to Naples, with Monsignor Caleppi, to solicit the mediation of the King of the Two Sicilies in so terrible a crisis. That monarch then sent the Chevalier Micheroux to give important orders on the frontiers; and he assured the Holy Father by letter that he guaranteed with all his troops the sacred person of the pope, his whole people, and the Patrimony of Saint Peter.

Pius VI thought, too, to refute the calumnies spread against him. He was accused of having himself excited the movement of December 28. He ordered an authentic juridical statement of all the facts to be drawn up, inserting the most trifling circumstances tending to make known the complete innocence of the pontifical government, which had merely discharged its sovereign duties against an attack of insurgents. The various agents residing in Rome were invited to sign this, in order to attest the sincerity of the fact, and to transmit a copy to their respective courts.

It was in vain. The ruin of Rome had been decreed by the Directory. Had Duphot not fallen in the outbreak, the Roman government was doomed to fall. Without examining whether Duphot's death resulted from his own

imprudence, it was declared that he had been assassinated, and that the national dignity was compromised till signal vengeance was taken. The Directory ordered a member of the municipality to arrest the Marquis Massimo in his own house; to put seals on all his papers, hoping that a search would furnish a new pretext for war against the pope. The Directory not only read the despatches and diplomatic minutes, but also the letters of Massimo's private friends. Nothing, however, was found to ground any accusation against the ambassador, whose orders were all pacific and executed with sincere fidelity.

General Bonaparte had left Italy to attend the negotiations at Rastadt between the Emperor of Germany and the Directory. Alexander Berthier, who succeeded Bonaparte, was ordered to declare war on Pius VI. Berthier at once put his troops in motion to invade the Roman territory. They entered in triumph without firing a shot, taking Sinigaglia, Fano, Recanati, and Macerata. At the last place the gates were closed, and for that reason solely the houses of the chief inhabitants were given up to pillage; Monsignor Celano, the governor, and Colonel Grassi were declared prisoners of war, and sent to Ancona under a guard of hussars. Berthier, on arriving in that city, published, on the 29th of January, 1798, two proclamations: in the first he declared that his march had no object beyond punishing the assassins of General Duphot, and that the innocent Roman people had nothing to fear from the French troops; that they would only avenge Duphot's death and the insults to the ambassador Bonaparte, and punish the government of Rome.

The pope had ordered his troops to retire without making any resistance, as the republicans advanced. The courage of the revolutionary partisans increased, and on the 3d of Feb-

ruary, 1798, they attempted to effect a revolution. The pontifical troops repressed the sedition; but the pope would resort only to negotiations and prayers so far as the Directory was concerned.

From a more than octogenarian sovereign no ardent activity could be expected to arouse the courage of his subjects; he thought only of saving them and avoiding bloodshed. He sent the cardinal-vicar Della Somaglia, Prince Giustiniani, and two prelates to meet Berthier and endeavor to discover the general's intentions. Prince Belmonte Pignatelli, minister of the court of Naples, had also been sent to meet Berthier, whom he found at Foligno. He could not induce him to receive the pontifical deputation. Berthier protested that such were his instructions, from which he could not swerve. While pursuing its projects, the Directory distrusted its own generals. Berthier added that he could not treat with the pope till the French troops arrived in the piazza of Saint Peter's.

A second deputation from Rome, headed by Monsignor Arrigoni, could not obtain an audience. Pignatelli then requested Berthier to encamp in the vicinity of Rome, but the French general was obstinately bent on entering the city.

Finally, lest they might, on such an occasion, think of putting the person of the pope in safety, when the Directory wished absolutely to have him in its hands, and to prevent the removal of anything from the museum, library, and galleries, Berthier said that all was generally guaranteed by the loyalty of his nation, and, though he refused to receive deputations, he continued to repeat that the Directory had ordered the government, religion, and property, both public and private, to be respected. The general would confine himself to punishing the individuals guilty of the assassina-

tion of Duphot. We shall see the result of these protestations made from Ancona to Monte Mario.

Pignatelli, returning to Rome, announced to the pope the inflexibility of Berthier, and it is impossible to describe the terror and confusion that ensued. As the pope had more to fear, perhaps, from seditions than the French, he directed Cardinals Borgia, Rinuccini, and Roverella to watch over the public tranquillity.

Meanwhile, the French van, commanded by General Dallemagne, approached Rome; it occupied Baccano and La Storta, ten miles from the capital. Pius VI wished to make one more endeavor to move Berthier, and sent some cardinals with the Chevalier Azara. Berthier repeated the same words. He said, moreover, that, to avoid bloodshed, it became His Holiness to issue an edict fitted to calm the people. Berthier himself gave a draught of such an edict to be sent to the cardinal secretary of state. Pignatelli and Giustiniani again besought the general not to enter Rome. Berthier replied that if the pope resisted the pacific intentions of the army he would not answer for the consequences, because he had orders to employ force and to take possession of Rome and all the Pontifical States.

It was necessary to yield to the law of the strongest. Azara returned to the city after concerting measures for the entrance of the troops. Then the pope published an edict in which he exhorted the people to respect them, assuring them, on the commandant's promise, that they did not come as enemies.

On the 10th of February a proclamation of Berthier was published, dated at Storta, in which, to the surprise of all, he disavowed as apocryphal the two proclamations he had issued at Ancona. In these proclamations he had declared

that he came to avenge the death of Duphot and punish the government of Rome.

Subsequently, that no obstacle should be raised to their entrance, and to convince all that he had in entering no design except to punish a small number of soldiers who had insulted his nation, he declared, in a proclamation issued just before he entered, that he would in no way attack religion, and throw no obstacle in the way of entire liberty of worship.

Pius VI was then advised, by several prelates attached to his service, to abandon Rome and retire to Naples. He replied: "We are thoroughly convinced that General Berthier, bound to carry out the instructions and orders of the Directory, will not maintain the promises so publicly made, but our honor and our character require us to give him seeming credit."

For the same reason he would not conceal the most curious and valuable articles in the museum, so as to show that he relied on Berthier's word.

The army had arrived near the city. The general and his staff were encamped on Monte Mario, opposite Saint Peter's. According to the agreement made with Chevalier Azara, four commissaries entered Rome, escorted by the pontifical colonel Berwick. They immediately took possession of the Castle of Sant' Angelo, the garrison of which returned to the convent of Saint Augustine. A corps of five hundred French was then introduced; then fifteen hundred more arrived under the command of General Cervoni; in fine, the city was occupied by nine thousand men. Yet the commissaries had exacted provisions for sixteen thousand, in order to receive supplies for that number, while there was only an effective force of nine thousand men.

General Berthier still maintained his headquarters on Monte Mario, waiting for his friends and partisans to come

and invite him to advance towards the city. There were innovations to be established, but they were to be granted only in response to the entreaty of the Roman people. This seemingly popular invitation was soon given. Few persons of high rank, but many known for their corrupt life, besides bankrupts, thieves, escaped galley-slaves—in fine, a host of bad men, or men of ill repute, most of them implicated in the riot at Joseph's palace—proceeded tumultuously on the 11th of February to Berthier to invite him, in the name of the Roman people, to take possession of Rome. Then the general, escorted by his staff and several squadrons of cavalry, made a solemn entry into the capital of the Catholic world.

His quarters were in the pope's palace at Monte Cavallo, and the better to cloak his designs, which he still pretended to be pacific, he had no sooner entered it than he despatched General Cervoni, appointed commandant of the city, to inform the Holy Father that he had nothing to fear, either for his own person or his sovereignty. But this authority was soon to be annihilated. With as little sincerity Berthier cut down the liberty trees which his partisans had planted in several places, and expelled from his army Lauters, inspector of artillery, for profaning, with unbecoming acts and sacrilegious words, the august temple of Saint Peter's, to the great scandal of the people.

The old system was still respected. Divine worship was freely offered. The cardinals, prelates, and those holding pontifical offices, had no affront to complain of, except that they began to be gradually excluded from all power in the government. Provisional commissions were appointed for the treasury, courts, political and military departments, although many officials were retained in place. But gradually, when the French felt sure that the whole Pontifical State was in their hands, and that emissaries had disposed men to

second the projected republican system, things were absolutely changed. Edicts imposed a contribution of one million two hundred thousand scudi, ordered a requisition of three thousand horses, and required a review of all those in Rome. Prince Pallavicini sent twenty-two, which constituted his stud; they returned only one, because it was vicious and injured those placed near it. Nay, more: by virtue of an edict which Monsignor della Porta was obliged to sign on February 14, all property belonging to English, Portuguese, or Russian subjects was sequestrated as belonging to enemies of France. It was ordered that, in case of incomplete declarations and concealment of the part of the effects indicated, a fine, of ten times the value, should be paid to the commissaries discovering the fraud.

All this did not satisfy the enemies of the pope and the friends of the French. The last wished an absolute change of government, that under the names of liberty and equality they might change condition and obtain the reward of their felonies. They conjured the general to democratize the Pontifical State and Rome at the same time; but the promises made by the general-in-chief to respect the government prevented Berthier from accepting these propositions too eagerly, or executing the orders of the Directory, until some event should arise which would ostensibly justify an act proper to cover the Directory itself with shame.

Such a circumstance soon happened. On the morning of the 15th of February, 1798, at the moment when they were singing the pontifical Mass in the Vatican, in presence of the cardinals and the whole papal court, to celebrate the anniversary of the exaltation of Pius VI, who was entering on the twenty-third year of his pontificate, a crowd of four hundred revolutionists, bearing a huge tree, assembled in the Campo Vaccino, and, amid cries for liberty, raised the tree

in the Capitol square before the statue of Marcus Aurelius. To give authenticity to the act, and pass it off as the will of the Roman people, who assuredly had no thoughts of revolting against their sovereign, they called five notaries to legalize this revolutionary frenzy by formal notarial acts. They next despatched a deputation to General Berthier, who was in concert with them, asking his support. Then, accompanied by his whole staff, by four hundred dragoons and a band, he rode to the Capitol, pronounced a short address, and declared the liberty of Rome and the installation of the new administration.

Thus arose the temporary Roman republic, which lasted eighteen months. It was divided into eight departments, bearing the names of rivers and localities—Cimino, Circeo, Clitunno, Metauro, Musone, Tevere, Trasimeno, and Tronto.

A system of political organization was then published. At the head of affairs, as consuls, were placed Duke Pio Bonelli, Francis Riganti, and Charles Louis Constantine, lawyers—the latter defender of the poor, a distinguished post at Rome; Liborius Angelacci, a surgeon; Anthony Bassi; Joachim Pessuti, editor of the Literary Ephemerides; and John Francis Arrigoni. As secretary there was assigned to them a Frenchman named Bassal, once parish priest at Versailles, then an apostate, married, and a regicide in the Convention. He was, however, soon recalled to France. They elected, as ministers of the government, Francis Maffei, Francis Pierelli, Lamberti, Ennius Quirinus Visconti, and Dr. Corona. Offices were distributed to others, who were not less protected by the republican authority of France.

The new consulate ordered that within a week all armorial bearings should be defaced in the city and throughout the Pontifical State. Rome was suddenly covered with scaffolds,

on which stone-cutters ascended to accomplish this task, and destroy the most glorious monuments of history, even those dating back to the old Roman republic. A decree also suppressed all titles of baron, count, marquis, prince, noble, and knight, the simple title of citizen being substituted in all cases. Yet the Roman republic, which they pretended to revive, had its nobles, its knights, and its senators.

All persons, servants of foreign ministers excepted, were ordered to wear on the hat the Roman tricolored cockade—white, red, and black.

The consul subsequently, provoked at receiving no attention from the diplomatic body, ordered the confiscation of the property possessed by several powers at Rome, and especially the Farnese Palace, belonging to the King of Naples.

Till the moment that the tree of liberty was planted at the Capitol, Pius VI enjoyed at the Vatican the fulness of his spiritual power, and his authority over his guards; his ministers still, to appearance, exercised their functions. But as soon as Rome was declared a republic, the persecution against the sovereign pontiff became more violent and criminal.

Haller, a Swiss Calvinist, son of the celebrated physician of that name, commissary of the republican army, was chosen in preference by General Berthier to announce to the pope that the Roman people had declared their independence; that they no longer recognized him as sovereign; that his reign was thus ended and completely annihilated.

Haller found the pope surrounded by the members of the Sacred College, and he fulfilled his commission with the greatest insolence. It needed a vile, uneducated soul, devoid of all religious feeling, to act with such baseness. Then Pius VI raised his eyes to heaven, and adored the decrees of Providence, who wished to try him by so painful a vicissitude of fortune.

The pope's Swiss and Roman guards were disbanded, and replaced by five hundred soldiers from the army.

At this moment General Cervoni went to the pope to present to him the national cockade. Cervoni urged the pope to show himself with the republican sign, and said that if he did it voluntarily, a pension would be assigned to enable him to live at his ease! At this offer Rome beheld the great and imperturbable soul of the magnanimous Pius rise in majesty. He replied with the same power of voice, but yet with a serene countenance: "We know no insignia but those with which the Church invests us. You have all power over our body, but none over our soul; a staff and the coarsest garment will be enough for him who must soon, in defence of the faith, expire on a bed of ashes."

These heroic sentiments, uttered with energy, did not move the envoy of the Directory, who, taking an air of feigned compassion, dared to counsel the pontiff to renounce his state and all temporal authority, assuring him, the wretch, that it was the only means of preserving his spiritual authority and obtaining from the republic a pension of three hundred thousand livres; otherwise he was in danger of losing all—his liberty even. At this new outrage, Pius VI, who, resigned to the divine will, no longer regarded human considerations, replied with an accent of heroic constancy: "Our power, by virtue of a free election, comes from God, and not from men; and for this sole reason we cannot, nor should, renounce it. We approach our eighty-first year. We have nothing to fear at your hands. We permit our body to be subjected to every violence, indignity, torture, according to the will of whoever wields the power. But believe it well, our soul is still so free, so strong, and so full of courage, that it will face death a thousand times rather than offend honor and our God. Withdraw."

The new police showed a desire to arrest the cardinals, to

secure, they said, the public tranquillity; but the members of the Sacred College marked out as the first victims had left Rome. These were Cardinals Albani, York, Busca, and Maury. The last was, at the moment, the object of special persecution. All his property of every kind in his diocese of Montefiascone was at once seized.

In a council held at headquarters it was decided to remove all the pontiff's kindred and the persons most attached to him. He was then completely isolated amid his enemies.

The general ordered the doors of the museum and gallery to be sealed up. The same measure was adopted at the Vatican, Quirinal, Castel Gandolfo, and Terracina; and all was confiscated, not for the benefit of the Roman, but of the French, republic.

The property of the Braschi and Albani families was confiscated. They did not even respect the private library of the Holy Father. In vain one of his intendants represented that the pope intended them as a present for Cesena, his native place, where a building was already prepared for their reception. The books were all carried away and sold at a sacrifice, realizing only twelve thousand scudi.

One morning the commissaries entered the cabinet of the unfortunate pontiff, and compelled him to witness their unbecoming search. They opened all his drawers and desk, but without finding anything to gratify their avidity. Seeing an urn, and supposing it full of sequins and precious things, Haller seized it and asked the pope what it contained. The pope calmly replied: "Spanish snuff." This was not what they were in search of. The box contained the annual gift of snuff sent to the pope by the King of Spain.

Haller tried the snuff, and finding it excellent, told one of his followers to take it to his quarters. The pope asked: "Will you even deprive me of snuff?" "Yes," said the

commissary; "it is good, it pleases me, and I am going to take it."

The fanaticism of the imitators of Brutus increased daily, and the republic seized all authority, leaving not a vestige of the papal power. The arms of Pius VI and the inscriptions engraved in his honor were effaced. The next step was to exile the pope, whose presence at Rome, it was said, had no longer an object.

On the 18th of February, at the moment when the pope was dining attended by a few domestics, Haller entered, with his hat on, and said to the pope: "I have come to take all your treasures, which the Roman republic has orders to deliver to me." "We have already," said the pope, "surrendered all we had to purchase the peace of Tolentino; we have nothing else to give you, and you know it better than we do." Haller replied with new insolence: "You have two rich rings; give them to me." The pope drew one from his finger and handed it to him, saying: "We can give you one that belongs to us individually; but the other is the fisherman's ring, it passes to our successor." Full of presumption, Haller replied: "I will not suffer it; hand it to me at once, or I shall employ force." Not to expose himself to violence, Pius VI handed it to him; but as it was of trifling value, it was soon after handed back to him. During the same visit, Haller, after securing the two rings, cast his eyes on the table where the pope was dining, and seeing a little box, seized it eagerly, crying: "Yes, yes, we shall find your jewels." But on opening it he found only some biscuits; nevertheless he took it, and without saying more, retired, there being nothing else to take.

On reaching the antechamber, Haller said to some prelates of the papal court who were there: "We do not know what to do with the pope. I order you to inform him to prepare to set out to-morrow morning at six o'clock."

One of the prelates, surprised at this barbarous order, replied with dignity: "Go yourself to impart this sad news; I cannot and will not be the instrument of your cruelties to my sovereign."

Haller then re-entered the pope's room, and abruptly bade him prepare to leave the palace. To this iniquitous order the pope replied with intrepid courage: "We are more than eighty years old; we are broken by age and by infirmities which have afflicted us for more than two months: this moment should, it seems to us, be the last of our life. We do not know whether we can bear the hardship of this journey. Our duty requires us here, and we cannot without crime abandon our ministry or our people. We will die here." Haller replied with his usual arrogance: "As for dying, men die everywhere. We want no reasoning or pretexts; if you do not go willingly, you shall go by force. Take your choice."

Left alone with his domestics, Pius seemed oppressed with grief. He entered his cabinet, knelt before his crucifix, and sought in prayer fortitude to endure such persecution. A quarter of an hour after he reappeared with his ordinary calm and serene countenance, saying tranquilly: "God wills it: his holy will be done! Let us resign ourselves to his just decrees!"

Still absorbed with his ecclesiastical ministry, he employed the forty-eight hours he was still to pass in Rome in regulating and putting in order the affairs of the Church.

On the 20th of February a detachment of soldiers appeared before the Vatican, sent to drag the pontiff from his palace. Fearing a revolt, they resolved to get him out of the city before sunrise. Two officers had orders to convey the pontiff to Sienna. Before starting he asked permission to hear Mass, but the soldiers, fearing it might be long, replied

with blasphemies, and forced him to set out. Deprived of everything, a trifling sum was handed to him totally insufficient for his travelling expenses. He could descend the stairs but slowly, yet Haller cried out: "Come, hurry!" Supported by some domestics, with faces bedewed with tears, he advanced to enter the carriage that awaited him. Then, to augment the opprobrium and bitterness of his position, a disloyal subject of the pope, formerly exiled from Rome for manifesting his hatred in the vilest form, but subsequently recalled by the clemency of his sovereign, audaciously came up and with unheard-of frenzy cried: "See, tyrant, your reign is over!" Pius merely replied: "Were we a tyrant, you would not now be alive."

Thus was Pius VI compelled to leave his palace.

The pope was permitted to take with him in his carriage Monsignor Innico Caracciolo, his chamber-master, and Joseph Marotti, his secretary, whom he had taken into his service only a few hours before.

Before starting, the pope wished to take with him a Latin secretary, and Marotti, a member of the late Society of Jesus, was proposed to him. "Do you feel courage enough to accompany us to Calvary?" said the pope. He replied: "Holy Father, I am ready to follow the steps and the destiny of my sovereign, the vicar of Christ." He had but two hours to prepare, yet he went, nor did he leave Pius till his death at Valence.

Baldassari adds, on the authority of an unpublished account of Marotti, that Pius added: "Surely, Signor Marotti, circumstances are not alluring, but we trusted that a son of Saint Ignatius would not refuse to gratify the desire of the head of the Church."

Two other carriages followed the pope's, containing his attendants.

On the evening of the 20th the pope entered Monterosi, where he spent the night. He reached Viterbo on the 21st, and visited the body of Saint Rose, which has escaped corruption, and is still entire and unaltered, except the color of the face, which has assumed a darker tinge than in life.

On the 22d of February, 1798, he slept at San Lorenzo Nuovo, and on the 23d at Radicofani. He had, shortly before, had the consolation of meeting, at Ponte Centino, his nephew, Duke Braschi, who had just been stripped of his palace, furniture, lands, in fact of everything.

From Radicofani, Pius VI proceeded to San Quirico, where Zondadari, Archbishop of Sienna, came to pay him homage. After five days' journey during an inclement season, the pope entered Sienna and was conveyed to the convent of Saint Augustine.

During his stay at Sienna, Pius VI, by the care and foresight of the archbishop, preserved a shadow of his dignity. Although the French endeavored to keep the pope's journey to Sienna a secret, yet the roadside was everywhere lined with Romans and Tuscans of all ranks, who stretched out their arms towards their Father, to ask his apostolic blessing.

At that very moment three Romans, exiled from their country for their treasonable schemes, were returning in triumph. They insulted their sovereign's exile. The first was a pontifical officer, who, convicted of exciting a riot, had endeavored to debauch the guard at the Castle of Sant' Angelo. Tried by court martial and degraded, he had been confined in the Castle of San Leo till the Cisalpines set him at large. The second was a Roman physician, who had joined a conspiracy against the government. Condemned to death, his punishment was commuted by the clemency of Pius to exile. The third was an ecclesiastic, a former secretary of a cardinal, in the ministry, a man who, after receiving

many favors and pensions from the government, had, with infamous ingratitude, betrayed an important secret confided to him. The vile insults poured out by these wretches when they met the pope were alleviated by the welcome which the Siennese gave the sovereign pontiff. The whole city poured forth to meet him; all, kneeling, implored his blessing; and the pope, with his finger on his lip, made them a sign to raise no cry, then blessed them with an emotion which drew tears from all. As soon as the grand duke, Ferdinand III, learned of the pope's arrival at Sienna, he sent his majordomo-in-chief, the Marquis Manfredini, to compliment His Holiness and offer him the necessary means to render his stay in Tuscany as comfortable as under the circumstances it could be made. The prince at the same time despatched couriers to Vienna, Spain, and France, to consult the governments as to the course to be pursued by him under the circumstances.

The pope showed his appreciation of the offers of service by the young grand duke, a brother of the Emperor Francis II, and said cheerfully to Manfredini: "Our misfortunes begin to make us believe that we are not utterly unworthy to be the vicar of Christ and successor of Saint Peter. The position in which you see us recalls the primitive ages of the Church, the years of its triumph." He then offered him a beautiful gold-mounted carnelian snuff-box, begging him to preserve it as a souvenir, as he had nothing better to offer. The minister gratefully placed it in the Manfredini palace at Rovigo, with an inscription commemorating the fact so honorable to him.

The English minister at Florence also came to offer his respects to the Holy Father.

The people of Rome, on learning that the pope had been carried off, and seeing that, in spite of the pretended republic so loudly proclaimed, the Revolution was only a general

spoliation for the advantage of a few wretches who held the chief offices, began to utter cries of rage and grief. On the 25th of February a terrible uprising ensued. Isolated Frenchmen and republicans were massacred even in the environs of Rome. Estimable and honorable ecclesiastics accused of this riot were arrested, and a general persecution ensued that it was easy to foresee.

Many cardinals and prelates who might have escaped to Naples were thrown into prison. They even imprisoned Cardinal della Somaglia, who had traversed the streets and visited the churches to exhort the people to peace, and who had, in fact, alone restored tranquillity.

Cardinals Antonelli, Joseph Doria, Borgia, Roverella, della Somaglia, and Carandini were conveyed to Civita Vecchia, and there allowed to embark for Tuscany; as most of them did, in any vessels they could find, at the imminent risk of shipwreck. The French also carried to Civita Vecchia Monsignor Crivelli, governor of Rome, and the prelates Consalvi, Sperandini, Celano, Onorato, Borromei, Ginnasi, Puccetti, Nuzzi, and Barberi.

The Directory at Paris sent orders relative to those who had held high offices under Pius VI. They wished to force the cardinals to abdicate the purple, and arrested those who refused to obey.

All ecclesiastics were summoned to swear eternal hatred to monarchy and anarchy, and promise an indissoluble attachment to the republic and its constitutions.

Among the cardinals who refused to renounce the purple, Cardinal Antonelli was distinguished. An officer urged him to renounce, but His Eminence replied: "Your proposition, sir, surprises me, and you yourself furnish me an answer. You are a soldier; now I ask you if, after enjoying tranquilly for years your prerogatives, and the privileges becoming

your rank, the honors due your condition, and the favors of your prince, you would be vile enough to renounce his service and uniform, which honors you, and that just as the enemy is approaching and a battle at hand? Judge then yourself of my opinions by those I presume in you, and learn to know better those who have sworn, at the feet of the leader of the Church, to defend the Roman purple to the shedding of their blood. The color of the purple alone is enough to remind us of our duty, should we unhappily forget it. The great moment of trial has come, and we hope with God's grace to be faithful to our vocation unto death."

Cardinal Rezzonico alone was spared, because, broken down by years, sickness, and the disasters of the Church, he lay at the point of death, and in fact expired soon after. He was the only prince of the Church who died at Rome during the republican rule, and the funeral honors usually paid to cardinals were refused to him.

Two cardinals alone, alarmed by threats, abdicated the purple. The first was Cardinal Antici, who, in the time of Pius VII, sought to reclaim it. The second was Cardinal Altieri, who was addressed by an officer with a drawn sabre: "Renounce the cardinalship, or be conducted to prison." The cardinal, already sick, yielded, rather from want of strength than the act of voluntary consent.

At the same moment Cardinal Mattei, one of the plenipotentiaries at Tolentino, while at his see of Ferrara, was, by order of the Cisalpine director Containi, his diocesan, driven from his archiepiscopal residence, because he had courageously refused the oath required of him at Milan.

The same result, and perhaps a greater misfortune, would have befallen Cardinal Albani, who was hotly pursued, had he not fled, leaving his property and that of his family exposed to certain ruin.

These miseries were not unknown to Pius VI. On the morning of March 26 he wrote to Monsignor Minucci, Archbishop of Ferno: "The present time requires assurance and courage; and six cardinals taken as hostages, and then transferred to Civita Vecchia, have shown it, and show it still, for they do not know their destiny. But they are honored and applauded by all wise men."

From Sienna Pius VI addressed two briefs to the emperors of Germany and Russia on religious matters, without betraying by a single word any complaint on his position.

At the same time he conceived the project, which he afterwards carried out in the Carthusian monastery of Florence, of drawing up a bull to prevent, in case of his death, a schism, which there was ground to fear, from what he could discern of the sentiments of the government at Paris. By this bull, which a chamberlain of Caracciolo carried in profound secrecy to the cardinals who remained at Naples and Venice, the Holy Father suspended the ancient laws and usages of conclaves, for the time when it should be necessary to elect his successor. He urged them to make an election with all possible celerity, even without awaiting the ten days prescribed by custom.

He had scarcely been a month at Sienna when a terrible event compelled him to leave it. On the 26th of March, an earthquake, lasting more than five seconds, ruined a great part of the city, especially the magnificent cathedral, regarded as a masterpiece of Gothic architecture.

In the monastery of Saint Augustine the Holy Father resided, where only the apartments actually occupied by him were spared.

Archbishop Zondadari immediately proceeded to put the pope in a safe position, and conducted him to the palace of the Venturi-Gallerani family, where he could escape to a

garden if the earthquake was renewed. The divine office could not be celebrated in any church; all had been injured by the repeated shocks. The pope advised the archbishop to erect an altar in the Piazza de la Lizza, in the centre of the city. Here a solemn Mass was celebrated, and the pontiff gave the papal benediction to an immense crowd gathered around him.

The Grand Duke Ferdinand, learning these sad tidings, sent his majordomo, Marquis Manfredini, to General Saint-Cyr, then commanding the French troops at Rome. There it was agreed that the pope should pass from the palace Venturi-Gallerani to the Villa Sergardi, called Torre Fiorentina. But on the 1st of June he was forced to leave it, to be conducted to the Carthusian monastery of San Casciano, two miles from Florence, beyond the Roman gate.

The Holy Father was attended by his little court. His nephew, Duke Braschi, had, however, been taken from him. Happily, they did not deprive him of the attentive care of Monsignor Caracciolo, his chamber-master, of Monsignor Spina, whom he soon after consecrated as a bishop in the monastery, or of his secretary Marotti.

Cardinal Lorenzana, Archbishop of Toledo, rather from the impulse of his own heart than in accordance with orders from his court, was also the faithful companion of the pontiff's hardships.

The Grand Duke Ferdinand III came to visit his august host. The pope went to the door of his apartment to receive him, and when the prince wished to kiss his feet the pope raised and embraced him warmly. Both wept together over the common disaster of their subjects and all Italy, and reciprocally undertook to bear with courage the miseries which seemed still in reserve.

In his new asylum the pope led a most retired life, so as

not to compromise Ferdinand III, who showed him the most sincere attachment. The Holy Father was subject to a regimen which would prevent his health failing more; he retired early and rose late, and spent almost all his time in writing or in dictating to his secretary, Marotti, decisions concerning exclusively the spiritual interests of the Church.

To this wretched life he had to resign himself. Two French commissaries almost always forbade all persons approaching the Father of the faithful, even priests and bishops who asked permission to see him.

Ferdinand visited him secretly. Pius VI one day said to him: "Cease, prince, to visit us in our sad exile. We do not wish our miseries to drag you into the abyss. Live for your family, preserve your health for the good of your people. We, too, have been a sovereign, and ever sought to lighten the miseries of our people. But the times, the circumstances, and the desolation introduced by a new irreligious system of philosophy have rendered our vigils sterile; and those whom we have treated as sons have become our most cruel torturers. O prince, let our fate serve you as an example! We wish not that the interest in our welfare manifested by Your Highness should draw down on you new displeasure. It is painful to us, as you may believe, to keep away from you, in whom we have ever found a most obedient son, religious prince, a true and sincere friend. But it would grieve us to the bottom of our hearts if, for our sake, you become as unhappy as ourselves."

Ferdinand accordingly renounced the frequent visits, but did not diminish any of his attentive care to alleviate so deplorable a condition.

A singular fact is mentioned at this time. The pope had manifested to Gustavus III all his interest in the Catholics of Sweden. From his exile His Holiness recommended

them anew to Gustavus IV, who had succeeded his father, and the Swedish monarch replied that he would himself furnish the necessary sums to maintain the Catholic college founded in his capital.

Nor were marks of good will reserved to this Protestant monarch. A petty Mahometan prince also sought to show his regard and veneration. The Bey of Tunis wrote to Pius VI a very respectful letter, in which, declaring himself protector of the Catholic mission in his States, he besought the Holy Father to raise to the dignity of vicar apostolic a Capuchin Father attached to that mission. The letter was accompanied with a silver chalice, taken, doubtless, on some French ship, for the fleurs-de-lis were evident on the base. The bey apologized for the poverty of his gift by saying that he possessed no other object which could be becomingly offered to a pope.

Florence was this year a refuge of several dethroned princes. Piedmont having been occupied by the French troops, Charles Emmanuel IV, King of Sardinia, surprised in his palace, was forced to abandon his country, his subjects, his throne, and his States. He was conducted, amid a large detachment of troops, to Parma, and thence to Florence, where he awaited permission to embark for Sardinia.

This unfortunate monarch, being so near the pope, wished to visit him. Permission was given with great reluctance by Reinhard, the French minister, and the visit took place on the 28th of January, 1799.

The king was accompanied by his queen, the venerable Mary Adelaide Clotilda of Bourbon, sister of Louis XVI and Madame Elizabeth. Ferdinand came at the same time as the court of Sardinia.

It is easy to conceive the painful nature of this interview between three sovereigns, two of them exiles and driven

from their thrones. The Grand Duke of Tuscany was soon to meet the same fate, and he knew it. Pius VI rallied all his strength to receive the King and Queen of Sardinia. He met them, supported by his domestics, at the door of his room. They fell at his feet, and would not rise till he had given them his blessing. And then, before rising, they said: "We forget at this moment, Holy Father, our own too well-deserved miseries, because we enjoy the presence of the common Father of the faithful." The pontiff replied: "O princes dear to our hearts, this world is all but vanity, and there is no one who can say it better than we; yes, all is vanity, except the happiness of loving and serving the Giver of all good gifts. Let us raise our eyes to heaven, where we expect thrones that man cannot take from us."

During the interview the king repeatedly urged the pope to follow him to Sardinia, where he offered him the palace of Cagliari. Queen Clotilda joined her entreaties to those of her husband, saying with the greatest emotion: "Come with us, Most Holy Father; we will comfort each other, and Your Holiness will find in his sons all the respectful care due to so loving a Father and so exalted a dignity."

Pius VI was moved by the solicitations of these pious sovereigns, and, choked by his tears, exclaimed: "God wills it, beloved princes! But you do not know the views of the Directory in our regard; we must be the victim of our persecutors. It would be impossible, even did our tottering health permit it, to follow you to Sardinia. There we should regain our liberty; here our servitude is a settled point. This government, which now has us in its power, cannot possibly let an old man of eighty escape, for they regard him as one of their greatest trophies. It is too late to deceive ourselves; our sentence has been passed, and death alone can terminate our hardships."

When the princes had conversed sufficiently, they invited the French officer, who had never left the king since their departure from Turin, to enter the Holy Father's cabinet; but the officer said that he had every reason to suppose that the mere sight of his uniform would be displeasing to the pope.

Meanwhile, at Rome an oath of fidelity to the French republic was exacted. Pius VI sent two briefs, one dated January 16, the other January 20, and addressed to Monsignor Passeri, vicegerent of Rome. As this prelate was banished before the briefs arrived, they were received by Monsignor Buoni, who, disregarding the danger he incurred, courageously published them, with a declaration under his own hand. The sentiments of Pius VI as to this oath were the same that he had expressed on similar occasions. Before leaving Rome, in reply to Monsignor di Pietro, secretary of the commission of cardinals appointed to examine whether men could lawfully swear hatred to monarchy and anarchy, His Holiness had declared such an oath illicit.

Rome had been delivered by the Neapolitans; but, in consequence of the battle of Terni, it had again fallen into the hands of the French. Then this oath was exacted more rigorously of ecclesiastics. The first called upon to take it were the professors of the two universities, the Sapienza and Roman College, that their example might induce others to follow. Some professors at the Roman College, and still more at the Sapienza, were men not to be intimidated by threats or seduced by promises; they refused to take the oath.

Meanwhile, the pope, to avoid persecutions and disorder, had proposed another form of oath, substantially conformable to the orders of the new democratic government, and differing only in expression. It did not offend religion or wound conscience; but the government would not accept it.

Then the professors protested their willingness to obey; and to escape all peril and all prejudice, they declared that the obstacles were raised by Monsignor Buoni. At that moment the prefect of studies wrote to the prelate, assuring him that, by virtue of this second instruction, the professors had taken the oath, and that they should probably ask his permission to declare their motives in thus acting, and that they would publish them, as they in fact did subsequently.

Pius VI, informed of the sad consequences that might result, would not delay the remedy an instant. He at once sent to Monsignor Buoni a warm brief, signed with his own hand, to give it greater weight. In this document he expressed his surprise at what had occurred; he warned the professors of the Roman College of the error into which they had fallen, relying on an instruction not issued by the authority of the Holy See.

He ordered them to be written to, by virtue of the obedience due to their bishop, the head of the Church, lest they should augment the scandal by publishing their pretended justifications. This brief, from the difficulty of communication, arrived too late, the justifications having already appeared.

When Monsignor Buoni informed them of the tenor of the brief, they appealed to the personal and renewed decision of the sovereign pontiff. They sent one of their number to the Carthusian monastery, but the deputy found in Pius VI that firmness which for so many centuries has formed the divine character of Holy Church. This deputy explained, or rather sought to explain, the conduct of his colleagues. He then handed the pope a petition, setting forth that they had fallen into error by a misunderstanding as to the instructions of Monsignor Buoni, and they solicited a

decision which would enable them to repair the scandal they had given. The pope would not receive this deputy, and his final reply, transmitted through Monsignor Odescalchi, nuncio at Florence, conformed to what was laid down and prescribed in the brief.

Six of the professors, convinced of their error, sent in their retractation; others had taken the oath with restrictions, but these the new magistrates refused to receive, and the Holy Father had no difficulty in persuading these that they were bound to retract, under penalty of being cut off from the communion of the faithful.

The Directory deemed the pope too near Rome, and requested the grand duke to compel His Holiness to leave Tuscany. That prince accordingly consulted with his brother, the Emperor of Germany, as to the means of securing His Holiness an asylum in the vicinity of Vienna, at the Benedictine abbey of Moelck. But a new rupture between the Austrians and French defeated the execution of this project.

Then Reinhard, minister of the Directory, called upon the grand duke and begged him to think of other means of removing so dangerous a guest. The prince courageously replied: "I never wished the pope in my States; on the contrary, I desired his stay at Rome. You French brought him here without advising me, and if now he must leave Tuscany, I will give suitable orders to effect his departure. But France must undertake to transport him elsewhere, for I shall never be so cruel as to send him away, or give that good old man orders to leave the Carthusian monastery." Ferdinand, knowing too well the laws of hospitality and the rights of an independent State, would not order him to go.

The Directory then proposed to convey the pope to Sardinia. The two directors most bitter against the Holy

Father hoped that he would there fall into oblivion and give no further trouble, communication with Rome being so difficult. Reinhard opposed this project, on the ground that English vessels might carry him off and deliver him from his captivity.

Soon after, as the war went on, Ferdinand was driven from his States, and on the 27th of March, two days after the grand duke had left Tuscany, the pope received orders to start. After a stay of one year and seventeen days in Tuscany, he was obliged to leave the monastery of the Carthusians.

At Bologna, Pius VI rested at the Spanish College, an institution founded by Cardinal Albornoz in the fourteenth century, and which claims to have welcomed, as a poor pilgrim, the great Saint Ignatius Loyola in 1535. The cardinal-archbishop at once came to pay homage. The pope asked leave to remain a few hours longer in this city, but this favor was refused. He was dragged down a narrow staircase to his carriage, the manner being too violent to say conducted. The very soldiers who were to be his escort were moved to tears, and smote the earth with their muskets.

The pope was then conducted to Modena and Parma. Mangin, an aide-de-camp of General Gauthier, having endeavored with much delicacy to alleviate the hardships of this journey, Pius VI, to show his gratitude, had a fine horse purchased and given to this officer.

Meanwhile, Ferdinand I, Duke of Parma, sought an interview with the pope; and the affecting scene which occurred between His Holiness and the King of Sardinia was renewed. The duke hoped to be able to entertain his guest for some days; and his request had been granted, but on the 15th of April a new French commissary appeared, and said

that, by orders from the Directory, the pope must at once resume his journey. It was feared that some Austrian hussars, who had approached Parma, might dash in and carry off the pope.

To the remarks of the commissary Pius VI made no reply. The physicians stated positively that neither friends nor enemies could move the pope, whose strength did not permit him to rise, and he must be allowed to end his days at Parma. The commissary abruptly dragged the sheets from the bed, to see whether the pope's body was in fact covered with ulcers, as was said. He saw enough to dispel any doubts he might have entertained. Then he pretended to see the necessity of a delay, and said that if they would give him five hundred louis he would go to Paris in person and persuade the Directory that the pope must be left at Parma. The sum was paid, the Duke of Parma supplying the money, and the pope hoped that his lot would be less cruel; but four days after the commissary reappeared, and said that he could not keep his promise, that he must take the pope dead or alive. He made no remark, however, as to restoring the money.

The pope did not wish to go; but he was told that if he did not go, the Duke of Parma, his family, and the whole State would be exposed to the fury of the republicans. Then he replied: "Let us go, as force so decides. But we must be carried; we cannot take a step."

Pius VI did not know even the names of the cities where he stopped; yet everywhere people crowded around his carriage, and he saw that he was still passing through Catholic States. Meanwhile, not a murmur passed the lips of the persecuted pontiff.

Turin would, he hoped, be the term of his journey, but the commandant again ordered him to proceed. Pius VI said

only these words: "God's will be done! Let us go, even with joy, whither they will conduct us."

The pope had been dragged to his carriage, and they were about to start, when it was perceived that the commander of the escort was not ready. All awaited him, and regard was shown for his convenience that was refused to the Holy Father.

The terrible Mount Genèvre was to be crossed. All the pope's retinue shuddered at the sight of these mountains. He alone retained his calmness, and said to those around him: "We regret that we pass twenty leagues from Mount Saint Bernard. You know that it is the spot where in the tenth century Bernard de Menthon, a Savoyard gentleman, founded a hospice where canons of Saint Augustine entertain travellers gratuitously for three days. These religious, in time of fog and storm, follow the traces of travellers whose cries and lamentations they hear. They carry travellers to their hospice, unnerved as they are by fear and cold. Dogs, accustomed to that beneficent solitude, run about and by their barking encourage the hopes of those who lose their way and are often almost buried by the snow in these wild parts. These dogs guide to the hospice travellers still able to walk. These venerable religious are continually doing for humanity what the most loving Father does for his children; and now they would have done for us—and how lovingly!—what sons should do for a father. We would have conversed so pleasantly with them; we would have paid them the tribute their virtue deserves; we would have caressed their dogs, and then we would have asked our guards to continue our painful journey to Briançon."

The pope travelled almost impassable roads without any complaint. The Piedmontese officers who escorted him, several times offered the aged pontiff of the Christian world

their fur coats to protect him from the cold. He replied with heavenly tranquillity: "We do not suffer. The hand of the Lord preserves us amid all these disasters. Courage, dear sons, beloved friends! Let us put all our trust in God." And yet he who triumphed in Rome, in the sedia gestatoria, who had seen kings and emperors at his feet, displayed no less majesty in these frightful solitudes than amid dazzling ceremonies in the sumptuous temple of Saint Peter's.

Another spectacle interrupted and mitigated these manifold sufferings. The mountaineers flocked from all sides to ask his blessing, which a half-frozen hand never refused.

Briançon was the first city of France to receive the captive. Here he remained fifty days.

The sovereign of the Vatican and Quirinal was reduced to three petty chambers, and had to use the same room as a chapel, dining-room, and place for the sad and lamentable conversation in the evening.

The commissary appointed by the Directory would have confined the pope in the citadel, had he not found it destitute of doors and windows; but while confining him in a wretched hovel, he prevented all intercourse with the people of the town, who would have alleviated the captive's lot. More patient than his own attendants, the holy pontiff had no consolation except his perfect resignation to the will of God.

Since his latest illness at Florence, Pius VI had been unable to say Mass; he heard it, however, regularly, and had the happiness of knowing that good Catholics gathered beneath the windows of the little room we have described, to hear the same Mass.

Yet the Holy Father did not experience sufferings enough to gratify the malice of his persecutors. New and more excruciating evils were still in reserve. His attendants were

accused of being in secret intelligence with the enemies of France, and of having transmitted plans of fortresses, as though these attendants were engineers capable of drawing such plans!

Without further delay, most of these attendants were sent away, and only three or four left near the pontiff, men who were thought unable to conspire. When this order was declared, the prisoner exclaimed: "We are ready to sacrifice ourselves rather than see torn from us the only persons in whom we can place confidence. We cannot be a moment without these persons; their services are necessary and indispensable to us."

Then, although in a state of indescribable weakness, he had the courage to rise and show his readiness to go rather than submit to so bitter a separation. But these demonstrations were useless. The faithful Caracciolo, Spina, Marotti, Baldassari, and others of the court had scarcely been a month at Briançon when orders came to convey them to Grenoble. The pope wrote in a trembling hand; the municipality drew up a formal and ingenuous petition that the pontiff and those foolishly accused of an impossible conspiracy should be left in peace. All despotisms are alike, and those erected in the name of the people are generally the more odious, as brutal hypocrisy too often masks its villainy with the veil of justice and virtue. Pius VI had to part with attendants who had become beloved friends. He sought strength in prayer, and obtained consolation that alleviated his grief. At this juncture hardened and malicious men audaciously sought to visit the pontiff, hoping to find him overwhelmed and broken down by the accumulated evils; but these very men only strengthened the idea entertained by all good Catholics that in the vicar of the Man-God all was supernatural and worthy of the highest admiration.

Twenty-five days elapsed. The tide of war brought the contending armies near the frontiers of France. The Directory resolved once more to remove their prisoner. They ordered him to be transported to Valence, in Dauphiny. The physicians unanimously declared that he could no longer bear any journey whatever. The prelates carried off from Briançon, learning this new order, wrote to the commandant of the place begging him to suspend it till they could send at their own expense a convenient carriage, which might lessen the pain of this new removal; but the commissary of the executive power, at the central administration, declared that there must be no delay, and he added: "The pope will leave here instantly, dead or alive."

A wretched mail-wagon was found, and in this the unfortunate pontiff was placed with his confessor, Father Peter of Piacenza. The rest of his domestics were thrown in a similar wagon.

Thus did Pius VI leave Briançon on the 27th of June; they moved towards Grenoble, where he hoped to see his friends once more. The roadside was lined with people, who awaited his coming in respectful silence; and when he appeared unbounded acclamations rose, braving all the powers of hell, to ask with liveliest faith his holy benediction.

That night he rested at Saint Crispin. Embrun could not obtain the honor of lodging the pontiff and being blessed by his failing but still unparalyzed hand. They proceeded the same day to Savines, where he put up in a peasant's cot. Madame de Savines, by her most pressing entreaties, could not induce them to let the pope proceed to her château. They would only suffer her to send a sofa for their prisoner to rest upon, after the jolting along a wretched road in a cart. Some time after, the carriages sent from Grenoble arrived, and the journey might have been begun in them but

for the inhuman impatience of the commissary of the Upper Alps, who was cursed by all, by the inhabitants of all classes, and even by the guards and officers. The pontiff alone said that the commissary did his duty.

His entrance into Gap was, notwithstanding the threats of some madmen, a real triumph. The citizens threw themselves in front of the horses, to hail the pope and receive his blessing. Among the inhabitants was the wife of one of the commandants of the escort. The women everywhere showed their reverence for the pope, and even Protestant women joined; but here this lady, profiting by her husband's authority, twice entered the carriage to kiss the feet of the pope. He remained three days in this city, which seemed for a time restored to Catholicism.

This delay was not caused by any feeling of good will on the part of the authorities. On the contrary, they spread the report through Dauphiny that the pope would go no farther; but this audacious falsehood was not credited. Almost all Dauphiny left their châteaux and villages to line the road to Grenoble; and when, three days after, the journey began again, the route was lined with pious Catholics. Notwithstanding the heat, and the exceptional hatred of some mayors, the prisoner, ignobly surrounded, like a malefactor, seemed a sovereign who needed but to utter a word to be delivered from his brutal jailers.

On the 2d of July the Holy Father reached Cors, and the next day Lamur; by the 5th he was at Vizille. The lady of the place came from Grenoble to receive the pope at her château. On all sides rose cheers for this pious lady, public congratulations spontaneously offered by the crowd. The farmer of the estate, a Calvinist, at the sight of the pope was, as it were, stupefied, and when people of every age and sex rushed forward to kiss the pontiff's feet, this man, wonder-

ing at this religious homage, cried: "What firmness, what ardent courage, light up the countenance of this august old man! what goodness, what virtue!" When the people urged him to go nearer, he said regretfully: "Ah, I cannot enjoy the honor of paying him my homage."

Even more than Gap, if that were possible, Grenoble distinguished itself in its welcome to the Holy Father when he entered it on the 6th of July. He was brought in at night, to avoid any great assembly of the people, but the inhabitants met the cortège more than a league from the city; they were ranged in double lines, and fell on their knees as the carriages appeared. There, indeed, his entrance was that of a conqueror rather than that of a prisoner.

The Maréchale de Vaux had the honor of receiving him into her house, and she paid a considerable amount to obtain this consolation.

The central administration, instead of seconding these good intentions, ordered the city gates to be closed, to prevent the country people from participating in the common joy; but the people within crowded round to ask his benediction, and this concourse lasted the whole day.

The unfeeling commissary, servilely obedient, thought of closing the windows, and ordered the pope to remain in his armchair; but this lackey of the vile Directory was told that he assumed a great responsibility: "You are provoking a revolt, and may be the first victim. If you escape, protected by some good Catholic, your own government will displace you, and perhaps punish you cruelly, for your misguided zeal, so fatal in its results. Remember, you risk your own life."

Then, convinced that his own interests were involved, he besought the pope to show himself. Streets, windows, roofs, were filled with the faithful. The applause was so vehement

that the pope, after appearing for a moment, imposed silence by a sentiment of prayer and affection, and retired, apparently closing the window.

There was a moment of anxiety and alarm on the route. The guards forbade the people to advance; some used violence and insult. Then the people attacked and disarmed the guards, who fled to the pope for protection. Pius VI caused a halt, addressed the people and then the soldiers, and harmony was at once restored.

The stay at Grenoble lasted five days. The chief ladies of the city, disguised as servant-girls, made presents to the guards and officers in order to get entrance into the house. They asked permission to minister to the prelates, if they could not serve the pope himself.

The Holy Father found his prelates at Grenoble. This favor, though he did not know it, was due to the urgent representations of Don Pedro de Labrador, the envoy of the Spanish king near the unfortunate pontiff, and instructed especially by his court to alleviate all the evils of that inconceivable slavery.

We have described the day of his entrance into Grenoble; but we cannot depict the transports which ensued, and which ill-disposed officials beheld themselves unable to arrest.

The soldiers, and officers of the guards even, expressed their opinion, unawed by commissary and commandant. They extolled the amenity of the pontiff, and saw that consideration for his age, infirmity, and dignity was required by a higher law, a local impulse, superior to all orders that might have come, or might come, from Paris. In fine, these soldiers, and their officers also, wished privileges, and would not begin their service till they had entered the pope's room to kiss his feet. Some presented crucifixes and medals to be

blessed; another ardently solicited indulgence for his mother and sister, not daring yet to ask it for himself; another wished a special benediction for himself. The pope smiled, replied always in French, and yielded to this ardor, which cheered his heart amid his trials.

He also conceded to his prelates the faculties necessary to console and gladden so many pious souls full of faith and fervor.

During his stay at Grenoble an event occurred well calculated to convince the Directory of the superhuman importance of the powers they affected to despise. A religious question, arising in the diocese of Paris, was laid before the pope, who examined it, and at once gave a decision evincing his ordinary presence of mind and profound ecclesiastical knowledge.

The commissary decided that the pope should depart on the 10th of July. He was besought to stop before the prison, where many ecclesiastics were confined for refusing the oaths, and whose zealous labors to prevent any outbreak of the people had induced the pope to thank them for their noble conduct. The drivers stopped of themselves before the prison, and the triple benediction was given with deep emotion by the captive pontiff to those confessors who were suffering for the faith. As he left Grenoble, crowds of people, Protestants with Catholics, lined the roadside. New marks of affection and devotedness were observed. When the carriage could move more freely, a woman in widow's weeds was seen with her two daughters, who, having come too late to kiss the pope's feet, followed the carriage as fast as the horses went. She naïvely addressed the pope: "Hear us; we are apostolic Roman Catholics; do not repulse us." Pius VI noticed the perseverance of these women; he durst not ask his guard to stop; but at the first place where he was

to rest, he had the women brought to him. He saw all the three, wiped their reeking foreheads, covered them with praises and blessings for their lively faith.

Farther on, as they were informed of the passage of His Holiness, groups of young ladies, dressed in white, offered him flowers. It was necessary at every moment to prevent these devoted maidens from rushing to the carriage to kiss the hand which blessed them.

When they reached the department of La Drôme, all admired the complacency of the gendarmes of the escort. Whenever the people asked it, they permitted the carriage to stop, with the pope's consent; and these soldiers would say to the people: "Look well; there he is, dressed in white on the right." Notwithstanding the sun, the pope had the carriage open. Some of these imprudent gendarmes, as the pope called them, made the people take their hats off.

On the confines of the department a whole municipality came forward to meet the pope, and addressed him in terms of respect, as they would have done of old to a king of France. As a cardinal remarked: "The deep roots of religion are not so easily torn up from the hearts and minds of a great kingdom." The nation was withdrawing from its government, which was soon to perish.

At Valence, the Directory, consummating its work of iniquity, had made its preparations. The scum of Paris had been sent. On the 14th of July the central administration published a decree declaring the Holy Father a prisoner of state, and detained as such.

In fact, there Pius VI became a prisoner. The gates of the fortress where he was guarded opened only for the service of the place. Sentinels kept their eyes fixed on the ramparts, for fear of any gathering of the peasantry in the plains. The pontiff was, however, at times permitted to

take the air in the garden, to which he was conveyed in a wheeled chair, for the paralysis began to affect his arms and legs, and he was almost incapable of movement.

One of the great satisfactions of the declining pontiff was to receive Labrador, the minister of Charles IV. The countenance of the captive became radiant when he beheld that young envoy, whose words of veneration breathed the pure old Catholicism of Spain.

Rigorous orders increased; a warlike demonstration was kept around a most pacific octogenarian, when there was not the least fear of invasion. The people of Valence could not refrain from censuring these causeless rigors. Some of them succeeded occasionally in being introduced to the pope, notwithstanding the strict regulations. One of those most frequently introduced was Madame Championnet, mother of the general who had just taken Naples. She sent articles for the pope's room; among the rest a painting of our Lord, which was hung at the foot of his bed. Those who gained access to the pope went to afflict their friends by informing them that the precious life could not be prolonged, the palsy having extended to his whole attenuated body, and it being almost impossible to give him any nourishment.

One day Marotti and Labrador said to the Holy Father that they admired his courage, and that this epoch of pain and captivity became the fairest moment of an already celebrated pontificate. Pius VI replied: "This may all be; but what afflicts us is to see the cardinals dispersed and persecuted. How is our poor Rome, so dear to our heart? What has become of our beloved people? What is the future of the Church of God, which we are about to leave so rent and tossed?"

While Pius VI groaned beneath this fatal captivity, in all the provinces of France, as in Europe at large, men spoke of

him and his oppressors. It was said that these, in dragging the pope from exile to exile, from city to city, had no object except to degrade the Catholic worship in the person of its head; and to degrade him, so to speak, by afflicting him with incalculable hardships and overwhelming him beneath his fetters. Yet the representative of Jesus Christ never appeared so great on the throne of the Vatican, surrounded by all its splendor.

The captive pontiff could give no political embarrassment in his prison at Valence, for Provence and Dauphiny were not invaded. But the Directory thought probably that another removal would kill the pope, and it ordered him to be transferred to Dijon. Perhaps, too, they hoped something from the effect of a cold climate, which he would be unable to endure? The journey to Dijon was to be at the pope's expense. Labrador, in behalf of his king and of Catholics individually, had, it was known, offered money to a considerable amount. Hence avarice played a part in the new order as well as brutality. There was a formal order not to stop at Lyons, a city known for its attachment to religion.

On learning this cruel measure, Pius VI could not overcome his grief. He exclaimed to his prelates: "It will be true that this time they will not spare us. We cannot, then, die in peace in our prison! This does not suffice to satisfy the Directory. Let it rage against us, let them load us with fetters, if there is aught to be dreaded from a broken old man who cannot escape them; but at least let them grant him the favor of spending calmly the few hours he has yet to pass in life."

The authorities of Valence made some efforts to endeavor to obtain the pontiff's continuance in their city, but their request was disregarded. One obstacle, however, met the

will of the Directory. This was the physical impossibility of removing the pope, whose condition became daily more critical. It was shown that he could scarcely be removed four steps from the fortress.

Before he was torn from his capital, Pius VI had dictated a will to Father Fantini, his former confessor. Removed to Valence, he thought only of reviving his faith, redoubling his acts of noble resignation, and his ordinary practices of piety. Every day was a preparation for the passage to another life. He fervently recited the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, whose picture he devoutly kissed, as he did that of some saints to whom he had a special devotion. Every evening he recited the rosary with his suite. Although he spent the little time left him, after his occupations, in earnest prayer, he was heard at night reciting Psalms, making most judicious application to his own position.

From time to time the commissary spoke of Dijon, and they were about to undertake the journey, or rather the murder, when the paralysis, rising from the legs to the bowels, brought on a crisis which banished all hope.

On the 13th of August he had one of those deceitful rallies which are the last sign of dissolution. The commanding officers, fearing a revolt, besought the pope to show himself to the people, and Pius, more confident in his docility than his strength, was carried in his attendants' arms to the balcony of his room, attired in his pontifical garments; and showing himself to the people, he cried in a sonorous voice: "Ecce Homo"—"Behold the Man," and then affectionately gave his last benediction.

On the 19th of August, at five o'clock in the evening, he was seized with a violent vomiting, and was unable to use the bell at his bedside. His domestics, running in, found

him insensible. He gradually recovered his faculties, and the first use he made of them was to call his confessor and to prepare to receive Holy Viaticum.

That day the dying pontiff wished to be aided to rise and be placed in a chair. Then, in presence of all his priests, clad in sacerdotal vestments, he made the profession of Roman Catholic faith, usually pronounced by sovereign pontiffs when they see death draw nigh. He united with Monsignor Caracciolo, who recited the profession, and he confirmed it by placing one hand on his heart and the other on the Gospel.

Before receiving our Lord, he begged God to restore the chair of Peter to Rome; and to France, religion, prosperity, and peace. When Monsignor Spina approached to give him communion, he asked the pope whether he willingly pardoned his enemies. At this the pontiff raised his eyes to heaven; then he looked upon the crucifix which he held in his hand, and replied: "With all our heart." He had always pardoned them; he had blessed them on entering the French territory; he pardoned them on leaving the world to go to a mansion where his repose would be no longer troubled by past bitterness.

On the 27th, at the first rays of dawn, he blessed a great number of beads, crucifixes, and pious pictures, sent to him from all directions.

On the morning of the 28th he received extreme unction. After thus regulating all the affairs of his soul, he wished to add a codicil to his will, to show to the best of his ability his gratitude to the companions of his slavery and his faithful domestics. The will was confirmed and its execution confided to Monsignor Spina. Then Pius VI extended a hand to each of them, and grasped their hands successively without uttering a word.

The Holy Father having thus, so far as a poor prisoner could, paid his debt of gratitude to all his good servants, showed by the most tender ejaculatory prayers his desire of being reunited to his Creator, repeating at every instant verses of the Psalms best fitted to sustain faith and hope.

On the 28th, at noon, the symptoms of the disease became more alarming; they were accompanied with spasms and palpitations. He again wished to see the companions of his sufferings and dangers; he called them all around him and embraced them, as well as he could, one after another. All knelt in tears and received his last blessing, which he gave with all his heart. His companions should be here named again: Monsignor Caracciolo, chamber-master, who had accompanied him from Rome; Monsignor Spina, declared Archbishop of Corinth by His Holiness, at the Carthusian monastery at Florence, and consecrated as such in his presence; Marotti, his secretary from the moment that he was torn from his throne; Father Jerome Fantini, Mercedarian, his former confessor; and Father John Peter of Piacenza, a Franciscan Recollect, and his chaplain since his departure from Rome: both of these had been secularized by the pope during his painful journey; and, finally, the Abbate Baldassari, secretary to Monsignor Caracciolo.

He was at his request arrayed in his pontifical habit; he even asked to be laid on the floor, but he soon fell into his agony. The august sufferer received the papal benediction usually given at the approach of death.

Pius VI died at half-past one during the night of the 28th–29th of August, a day dedicated to Saint Augustine, at the age of eighty-one years, eight months, and two days, after a pontificate, the longest since that of Saint Peter, of twenty-four years, six months, and fourteen days.

Thus died Pius VI in the faith. He was, it cannot be

repeated too often, a man admirable for the virtues of his heart; a generous and magnanimous prince, who deserved a better fate.

"Such," says Picot, "was the end of this virtuous pope, destined to so many reverses, successively exposed to the persecutions of misled sovereigns and the fury of frenzied republicans, and in all his misfortunes a model of moderation, courage, and resignation.

"He was the first pope for centuries who had died in exile."

He had created seventy-two cardinals.

Raised to the throne in times of tempest, Pius, throughout the whole course of his administration, displayed qualities which never wavered, the most exalted views in the art of governing, as also a rare meekness, an angelic mildness, and at the same time a fortitude which held firm against the spirit of vertigo which during his reign seemed to seize almost every nation in Europe.

This unparalleled series of evils, misfortunes, calamities, will give eternal renown to Pius VI in the annals of Christendom.

After the death of Pius his enemies were forced to confess him great on the throne, greater when torn from it, greatest in the glory he merited in heaven. Steps were at once taken to embalm his body. It was placed in a leaden case, and his vestments, a purse with silver coins struck during his reign, a scudo, a half-scudo, two papetti, and one grosso, were put beside it. The leaden coffin was inclosed in another made of wood, and then transferred to the end of the government chapel. His heart was inclosed by itself in an urn.

The prelates wrote to the Directory for permission to convey the body to Rome, in accordance with the last wishes of Pius. To give no offence, they had confined themselves to

placing on the coffin this simple inscription: "Body of Pius VI, Sovereign Pontiff. Pray for him." But the Directory harshly refused the permission necessary for its removal, and this privilege was obtained only at a later date, when Napoleon came into power.

The following epitaph was composed at the time by Father Marotti. It was inclosed in a leaden pipe, and escaped the eyes of the commissary:

"Here rests Pius VI, Supreme Pontiff, formerly Giovanni Angelo Braschi, of Cesena. He surpassed all others in the length of his pontificate, and ruled the Church twenty-four years, six months, and fourteen days. He died most piously at Valence, August 29, 1799, in a citadel where he was detained as a hostage by the French. He was eighty-one years, eight months, and two days old. A man illustrious for his admirable firmness of soul in enduring the greatest toils."

The prelates celebrated the ceremony of the novendiali, but, on account of the circumstances, "ad uso ae' poveri" (after the manner of the poor).

Nothing was left to the pontiff of his former splendor but a shabby wardrobe and a few clothes. These he had left to his domestics; but the authorities of Valence declared even these miserable tatters to be national property. Labrador in vain protested against avidity so foreign to French politeness and generosity.

Some time after, General Bonaparte passed through Valence on his way back from Egypt. Spina sought him, and obtained his promise that the things given the servants should be restored.

Having been created Consul on the 9th of November, Bonaparte published a decree in which he declared that the Directory had sought to crush and trample under foot the aged and venerable pontiff, who, by his misfortunes and

the elevated dignity which he held on earth, was entitled to the most luminous testimonials of public consideration. He ordered that new funeral honors should be rendered to the pope on the 28th of November. After these ceremonies the remains of Pius VI were placed under the chapel in the citadel, where of old were interred the holy martyrs Felix, Fortunatus, and Achilleus, sent to Valence by Saint Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, to preach the Gospel there.

On the 30th of December, 1799, the consuls of the republic held the following deliberation in regard to Pius VI:

"Paris, 9th Nivôse, Year Eight of the French Republic,
"One and Indivisible.

"Whereas, the body of Pius VI has been deposited in the city of Valence for the last four months without the honors of sepulture being extended to it; and whereas, if this aged man, venerable for his misfortunes, was, for a moment, the enemy of France, it was only when seduced by the counsel of men who surrounded him in his age; and whereas, it becomes the dignity of the French nation, and is conformable to its sensitive character, to give marks of consideration to a man who held one of the first ranks on earth: it is Decreed—

"1st. The minister of the interior will give orders that the body of Pius VI be interred with the honors usual to those of his rank.

"2d. A simple monument shall be erected over his grave, to show the dignity with which he was invested.

"The First Consul,
"Bonaparte."

On the 2d of January, 1800, Lucien Bonaparte, minister of the interior, proceeded to execute the decree of the con-

suls. He wrote as follows to the administration of the department of La Drôme and the central commissary:

"Citizen Administrators: I forward to you the decree of the consuls of the republic, ordering that the body of Pius VI, now deposited in the commune of Valence, be interred with honor, and that a monument be erected over his grave. The preamble of the decree will sufficiently explain its spirit. The soil of liberty is hospitable, and it is enough that an institution has been, or is, enveloped with the veneration of a great number of men, to render it worthy of respect.

"You will, therefore, have the body of Pius VI transferred with all military honors to the spot destined for his burial. The public authorities will form part of the procession. That day they will discharge a national function; they will doubtless, in concert with you, blend regard and dignity. You will erect a marble monument over the pontiff's tomb. The monument should be plain, and bear this inscription: 'Au Pape Pie VI.'

"For this purpose I place to your credit thirty thousand francs, from the credit of ten millions allotted to my department for the year eight, by the law of 27th Frimaire [December 17, 1799]. You will be pleased to transmit to me the plan of the monument and the device, as well as a statement of the ceremony.

"Health and fraternity,

"Lucien Bonaparte."

On the 30th of January the following document was drawn up:

"On the 10th Pluviôse, year eight of the French republic, in conformity to the decree of the consuls of 9th Nivôse, the letters of the minister of the interior set forth in the pro-

gramme or order of ceremonies to be observed in the burial-service of Pope Pius VI, who died in the commune of Valence, 12th Fructidor, year eight, and in conformity with the decree of the central administration of the department of La Drôme, the said interment took place, and the order of the funeral was observed as follows:

"At 7 A.M. a salvo of seven pieces of artillery was fired and the general signal given. At 9 A.M. the citizens of the National Guard, infantry and cavalry, under the orders of their respective commanders, proceeded under arms to the Citadel Square, to escort the convoy, protect the march of the procession, and concur in the funeral pomp and military honors for the interment of the deceased pontiff of Rome.

"At ten o'clock precisely the civil and military authorities, in full dress, wearing black crape, met in one of the department halls, to proceed thence, escorted by a numerous detachment of the National Guard, and preceded by a band, to the government palace, where the body of the pope lay, to transfer it to the place of burial.

"The cannon having announced the moment of departure, and the commissaries appointed to direct the ceremonies having placed the members of the different authorities in the positions they were to occupy, the cortège left the government palace to proceed to the spot set apart for the burial of the pope, some kilometres outside of the commune of Valence, in the following order:

"A detachment of cavalry, preceded by two trumpets, followed by the pieces of artillery, opened the march. The band and drum corps, playing funeral marches, followed.

"The body of Pius VI, inclosed in a leaden coffin, and that in an oak case, was carried on an antique car draped in black, and drawn by eight horses similarly caparisoned.

"Then came the four presidents of the administrative and judiciary authorities, placed at each angle of the coffin,

which was covered with a pall of gold cloth, with pendants of violet cloth; each held a gold ball attached to the ends of the coffin.

"After the coffin followed the staff of the corps, composing the garrison of the place, mounted, comprising the members of the extraordinary military commission. After them came two pieces of artillery; then all the members of the constituted authorities, preceded by a tricolored flag trimmed with crape, marching two by two; after them all the citizens who had assembled at the government palace to attend the said funeral. The National Guard and infantry, appointed as escort to the convoy, were placed on the wings of the cortège, with arms reversed. A detachment of cavalry and gendarmes closed the line.

"In this order the convoy, crossing the esplanade of the citadel, was saluted by seven cannon, in quick succession, by the artillery of that place, and a volley of musketry by the infantry.

"Cannon were fired every five minutes during the march, and the convoy, passing through La Roderie and Saint Félix streets, Grande Rue, Liberty Square, the Saunière Gate, and the Boulevards, as far as the place called Saint Catharine's, consecrated to the burial of Pius VI, received full military honors from all the posts situated in its line of march.

"On arriving at said place the convoy entered in the same order by the chief gate, before which was placed a sepulchral lamp announcing the entrance to a tomb. Proceeding in, the constituted authorities and citizens in the procession formed a circle around the vault prepared and destined to receive the pontiff of Rome, and at the same instant the infantry, in a square battalion, fired a volley of musketry in that position.

"The commissaries appointed to superintend the obse-

quies having had the coffin containing the body of Pius VI at once removed from the car, it was forthwith deposited in the grave; and during the inhumation mournful music befitting the occasion gave it that sombre character which constitutes the pomp of a funeral solemnity.

"The gloomy silence was succeeded by the terrible sound of cannon and a volley of musketry from all the infantry as they defiled by the grave, which added to the effect of the ceremony. Orders having been given to close the sepulchre in which the body of Pius VI had just been laid, its opening was at once, in the presence of the authorities, closed by workmen ready for the purpose, so that the remains of the pope are sheltered from any desecration, and perfectly safe.

"For this purpose the cortège, escorted by all the troops, returned in the same order to the department where the present official account was drawn up, signed, and attested, the day, year, and month above written, at noon, all the members of the civil and military authorities present at the interment subscribing it."

No religious ceremony could then be performed. Many priests had, indeed, left prison; but in France, with its Most Christian King, what Pius VI had foreseen, said, and written so often during his pontificate, not a trace of Catholic worship remained.

Here the body of Pius rested for a time in the common cemetery. Notwithstanding the high-sounding words of the decree, the only monument was a small vault of masonry, made by a Protestant, and walled up so as to identify the place of burial. The rise of Napoleon induced greater favor, and when, after the Concordat of July 15, 1801, had been signed, Monsignor Spina again solicited the body, the following replies were given:

"Paris, 2d December, 1801.

"M. Spina having requested the First Consul, on behalf of the pope, that the body of Pius VI, interred in the cemetery of Valence, should be given to him to transport it to Rome; and the First Consul having consented, you will, when M. Spina next passes through Valence, deliver to him the remains of the late pontiff, with all suitable decency, without any pomp. I salute you.

"Chaptal."

At the same moment Talleyrand, minister of foreign relations, wrote on the same subject to the same prefect:

"Citizen:

"M. Spina, Archbishop of Corinth, after discharging the commission confided to him, passes through your department on his way to Rome. You will please give him all desirable facilities for his journey. M. Spina, by the manner in which he has discharged his mission, has gained at once the good will and esteem of the government, and he has obtained a decree from the First Consul that, on his passage to Valence, the body of Pius VI should be put in his hands to reconvey to Rome. I invite you, then, to dispose things in such sort that all pass on the occasion with decency, but without any pomp.

"Ch. Maur. Talleyrand."

The heart of Pius VI was not, however, removed from Valence. That city still retains this relic of a pontiff who closed his sufferings there.

The Catholic world was filled with emotion as the tidings of the death of Pius VI reached it. Funeral obsequies were

celebrated in all cities where religion was free. At London, though the government had been separated from the Church for two hundred and seventy years, and no homage had been paid to the popes, Monsignor Erskine celebrated public obsequies in Saint Patrick's Church. Absolution was given by three French bishops and the Bishop of Waterford, in the presence of the Archbishop of Narbonne and eleven other French bishops, refugees in England.

The same ceremonies took place at Saint Petersburg, Warsaw, Vienna, Madrid, Lisbon, and generally in the capitals of the States not subject to the authority of the Directory.

As may be supposed, there are many biographies of Pius VI.

The chief events of the long pontificate of Pius VI may be thus given:

1. His conduct to the Jesuits on succeeding Clement XIV. This displayed his gentleness and consummate ability, both in 1775 and subsequently, in his relations with Frederic the Great and Catharine.

2. The Pontine marshes. The labors of Pius VI, by the admission of modern engineers, give this pope the highest claims to glory, if not for complete success, at least for achieving results beyond what any previous century of the Christian era had effected.

3. His visit to Vienna. This was by no means fruitless to religion. The brief to the Bishop of Brünn taught Pius VI his own strength, and forced the Austrian ministry to restrain its reforming policy in the circle already marked out, without attacking new points. The bull Unigenitus was not pursued with the same violence, and ere long Joseph II was imploring the assistance of the pope to regain that power in

the Netherlands of which his mad spirit of irreligious interference with the discipline and rights of the Church had forever deprived the house of Austria.

4. His correspondence with France will ever be a model of prudence and caution, of patience and compassion, ever seeking to postpone the day of collision, and avoid everything tending to provoke frenzied men to further acts of madness.

5. The treaty of Tolentino displayed his zeal for peace and for the lives of his subjects, as well as his spontaneous spirit of self-sacrifice in surrendering private means for the wants of the State.

6. His conduct during the French occupation shows that dignity which scorned to believe in treachery, but confided fully in the assertions of Berthier.

7. His bulls issued at the Carthusian monastery are as eloquent as those from the throne. Pius VI was a Latinist of superior excellence. These briefs, drawn up by the skilful Marotti, are not addressed, as of old, to Catholic powers only. A Mahometan prince who honors Rome and her fettered pontiff is addressed in one of them.

While the project of sending him to Sardinia was still under consideration, Pius VI wrote thus to his nephew, Cardinal Braschi. This letter, the last probably in which Pius VI could freely express his ideas in full, is curious from its being dated in the twenty-fifth year of his pontificate.

"Most Beloved Nephew:

"No one any longer doubts the capture of Corfu. We shall now know whether the English will deliver Malta, as they have said. Three days ago, in consequence of an order from the Directory, I was to have been transported to Cagliari;

but the French ambassador opposed it, and was unwilling to have me start, saying that, as the King of Piedmont was at Cagliari, I ought not to go there.

"The Abbate Tosi has come on from Sicily, and directly from Palermo; why, is not known. He has been four days in Florence, but has not presented himself.

"I have heard with pleasure that the noble Pesaro does himself honor by purging your city of Jacobins; but although I have thought the matter over and over, I cannot recollect that his brother ever was ambassador at Rome. The Marquis Manfredini, prime minister of the grand duke, has been to Mantua to prevent the execution of the order of the Directory which sent us to Sardinia. We shall see whether he succeeds in what he desires, as that appears probable. Thanks be to God, we have for some days felt better than before, although we are still troubled by weakness in the knees, for we cannot walk without a support.

"We send you the apostolic benediction with all our heart.

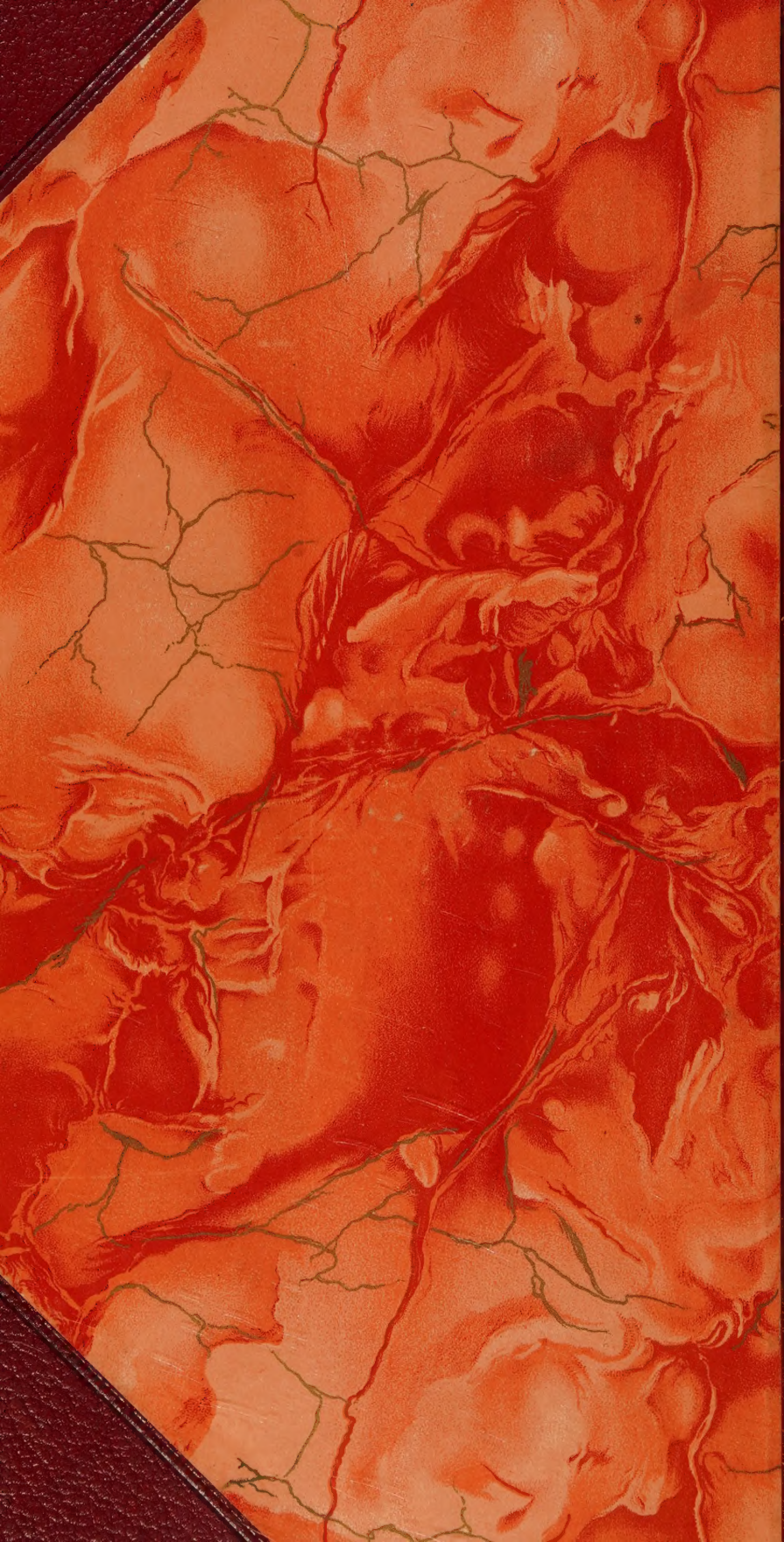
"Given at the Carthusian monastery of San Casciano, near Florence, March 22, 1799, of our pontificate the twenty-fifth.

"Pius, PP. VI."

8. His arrest and deportation from Rome to successive places of captivity, till he died at Valence, just as a new order had come for another brutal removal.

9. His death was in all its circumstances sublime.

The Holy See was vacant, on the death of Pius VI, six months and sixteen days.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE POPES

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